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THE FORTNIGHTLY

JANUARY, 1951

THE RACIAL PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY A. L. GEYER

TO understand the relations between the two main racial groups, the white people and the Bantu, respectively 2.6 million and 8.3 million, there are a few basic facts to bear in mind. The position in South Africa is totally different from that which existed until recently in India and Indonesia, and which exists in West Africa. In these countries the Europeans were, or are, hardly settlers and colonists, but rather administrators and traders. The position differs even from that in those British African colonies which since late in the previous century have a permanent white population. In South Africa the whites and the Bantu are both colonists, and, what is more, for the greater part more or less contemporary colonists. The white South African has no less claim to regard the Union as his homeland than the black South African has. This implies that the British could withdraw from India, and the Dutch from Indonesia, and that the British can think of eventual withdrawal from the West African colonies. But the white South African nation cannot withdraw from its homeland. The Bantu have rights to their South African homeland and the whites also have rights to what is equally their homeland.

The Bantu are not Europeans whose skins happen to be black. Our race problem does not exist because of a difference in pigment, which is merely incidental. Our problem exists because the Bantu are a race as different from the Europeans as a race can possibly be. They are a race with a totally different background, totally different traditions and beliefs, a totally different outlook on life. They are a race which, when it first came in contact with the Europeans late in the eighteenth century, had a civilization more primitive than that of our European forbears in the time of Julius Caesar.

The third basic fact springs from the second. As the two immigrant streams met and clashed, and as the Bantu, conquered by the white men, gradually entered into the economy of the latter, it was in the relation of servant and master. Class distinction, which used to be such a characteristic feature of British life not so many years ago, in South Africa became synonymous with racial distinction. Differentiation became part of the social and economic structure of South Africa and has been so for many generations. This is what

Field Marshal Smuts meant when he said that *apartheid* is the traditional policy of South Africa. His Oxford lecture on the subject was most interesting and enlightening; it was delivered in 1929 and published, together with his other lectures, under the title *Africa and Some World Problems.*

Until late in the nineteenth century South Africa was a purely agricultural and pastoral country. Most of the Bantu continued to live as peasants on their tribal lands, with a certain number as labourers on the farms of the white, and a small number in employment in the few towns. It must be remembered that the gold of the Witwatersrand was discovered only 64 years ago, that up to a generation ago South Africa had hardly any secondary industry. Only thirty years ago our gross industrial output was £92 million. In 1939 it was only £199 million. To-day it is £582 million. For most of this mining and industrial activity the Bantu supply the unskilled labour. Try to visualize the revolution in the lives of the Bantu. In their tens and hundreds of thousands the young men were drawn away from their reserves, from their primitive tribal life and customs, into modern industry and modern urban life ; and all this practically within one generation. Even if they had been European peasants, the sudden change would have been enormous, creating all sorts of problems. But they were not European peasants. They were primitive Bantu, 2,000 years behind the European in development.

If the white rulers could not always at once deal with all the new problems, if mistakes were made, if in many cases deplorable housing conditions arose, are the whites to be condemned for it ? Think of the appalling conditions which accompanied the industrial revolution in England—and let me add that the lot of the Bantu industrial worker in South Africa is infinitely better than that of English industrial labourers of half a century ago.

* * * * * *

The whites in South Africa realize that the responsibility rests on them to help the Bantu to develop and to become civilized. The following figures give some indication of what South Africa is doing in carrying out this great task, especially if it is remembered that our income taxpayers number roughly 320,000 and that the total budget of the Central Government last year was £150 million.

Education. In 1938 there were 424,000 Bantu children at school. By 1949 the number had increased to 770,000. State expenditure on Bantu school education in 1948 was £4.6 million; in 1950 it was £6 million. At Fort Hare we have a Bantu university college, which now has 340 students preparing for the same degrees as the white

university colleges, and subsidized in exactly the same way by the State. At the moment a Bantu medical school, attached to the University of Natal, is in course of being created. A number of Bantu students, especially in medicine, are enrolled in the University of the Witwatersrand.

Agriculture. The total area of agricultural and pastoral land reserved for, and occupied by, Bantu is at present roughly 32 million acres. Most of these Bantu reserves lie in the most fertile and best-watered parts of the Union. Additional land is still being bought for them by the State. Thus in the first eighteen months of the present régime 415,000 acres have been purchased. The Bantu are unfortunately not good farmers and the problem of soil reclamation and conservation is a very serious one. Considerable sums are spent annually on this, and in the last budget £850,000 was provided for this purpose. A great deal is done—and heartbreaking work it is—to improve Bantu agriculture. For this purpose the Union has a Director of Native Agriculture, assisted by about 900 technical officers, supervisors and instructors, of whom roughly half are Bantu.

Bantu Medical and Social Services. Instead of going into details, I shall simply state the fact that the last budget made provision for £10 million for these services.

If we compare the amounts spent on Native educational, medical and social services in the British African colonies, we find that the highest figure for any British colony is 7s. 3d. per head of the Native population. For South-West Africa, however, it is £1 5s. 6d. and for the Union of South Africa, £2 1s. 0d.

I should also mention the position of the Bantu in the professions and industry. There is nothing, except usually lack of financial means, to prevent a Bantu from becoming a professional man. There are Bantu medical doctors and Bantu barristers, though not many. There are numerous Bantu school teachers and ministers of religion. There are a number of Bantu traders, though usually small ones. When we come to the skilled trades, the position is complicated. There is no law to prevent a Bantu from becoming a skilled artisan, but the odds are heavily against him, for several reasons.

To fill in the picture, I should add that the Bantu have three elected representatives in the Lower House and four in the Senate, apart from another four nominated by the Government for their knowledge of the needs and aspirations of the Bantu.

I might mention what South Africa regards as a dangerous fallacy. There are those who seem to think that our democratic system, with its political parties, ballot box, and Parliament, can be extended to all peoples irrespective of their stage of development. But these theorists forget one very significant fact : apart from the Anglo-Saxon countries, our democratic system has thus far stood the test of

time only in Switzerland and in the countries of the western and north-western European fringe. Certainly, when it comes to the Bantu, more is needed than a little learning and the acquisition of a little superficial western, therefore foreign, culture.

We do not claim that everything in our country in regard to the Bantu is as it should be ; far from it. If that were the case, there would be no problem. What we do claim is that with limited resources a small white community has done and is doing a great deal for the development of our Bantu population. And we do take some pride in one of our vexed problems, which is this : from all the surrounding territories, mostly British, there is an irresistible flow of Bantu into the Union. Much of this is illegal immigration but it is impossible to stop it. Now and then some are arrested and deported, but within a few weeks or a few months they are back in the Union. Obviously they regard South Africa as not such a bad place for a black man to live in, after all.

* * * * * *

These are a few of the facts in connection with *Apartheid*, the policy of keeping the races apart, as it exists and as it has existed for many generations. It is obviously an *apartheid* which presupposes the Bantu as relatively uncivilized in the mass, either as tribesmen within their reserves or unskilled labourers within the economic system of the white man. But the Bantu are gradually rising in the scale of civilization, and the whites are spending millions to educate them and to help them to develop. It is perfectly clear then that the existing *apartheid* must fail and cause ever increasing friction, unless the whole problem is tackled with a view to the changing circumstances.

South Africa is the home of the Bantu. They must be helped to become a civilized people. They must be given the opportunity to develop to their fullest extent. On the other hand, South Africa is equally the home of the South African whites. We have built up a white nation, and we are quite naturally determined to preserve and develop this white nation, and not eventually to be merged in the great black majority.

How then to find a synthesis of the rights of the white nation and the rights of the Bantu people, who at the moment are still little more than a number of Bantu tribes, speaking different languages ? This is the problem, not merely of a multi-racial State but of a multi-racial State where the races differ in almost every conceivable respect, and where the whites comprise little more than 20 per cent. of the total population. In this form it is a problem unique in the world.

It is essential to look ahead, to try to answer the question " Whither South Africa ? " And here I must emphasize that our existence as a white people in South Africa depends on our finding a solution, and

no South African in his senses favours a policy of oppression, because he is well aware that that would be the surest way of blowing white South Africa sky-high.

A possible policy to adopt would be one of the gradual abolition of all differentiation, with, as the ultimate object in view, the eventual integration of black and white into one people. Superficially this is the easy way. To the armchair critic at a safe distance it is the noble, the highly moral way—and it is remarkable how easy it is for most of us to be noble and generous at other people's expense. I do not, however, believe that policy to be the easy way. On the contrary, along that road lie ever increasing conflict and bitterness. Nor do I accept that it is a moral way, simply because suicide can never be moral, and this policy is one of national suicide, of the, disappearance of the white South Africans as a nation. I state emphatically that no political party in South Africa advocates this policy.

To adopt such a policy, the whites of South Africa would first have to be brought to abandon their ideal of remaining a distinct people, a white nation. This is obvious ; two racial groups which are in the ratio of four blacks to one white, cannot be integrated without such a result. One could not have a policy of no differentiation in the school, the workshop, the professions, in politics, and yet retain social *apartheid.* A policy of integration must eventually mean the rule of the Bantu in South Africa and the disappearance of all racial distinctions ; in other words, the eventual absorption of the white one-fifth by the black four-fifths. Is it likely that any European people anywhere in the world, placed in a like position, would accept such a policy ?

To take the question of political rights, regarded from the purely practical angle : it is argued that the individual Bantu, as he becomes educated, should be given a vote along with the whites. This sounds fair, but apart from the question as to what standard of education and civilization should be applied, let us see what this course implies. The more the small white minority exert themselves to develop and educate the great black majority, the sooner this policy would create a position where the Bantu voters would be able to rule South Africa. Is it likely that any group faced with such a prospect would allow the system to continue while the political power still lay in their hands ? Is it not much more likely that, as soon as the Bantu vote began to be a serious factor, there would be an outcry amongst the whites against the system and that it would be done away with ? We did try the system in South Africa, and this is exactly what happened. In 1936 the system was abolished by the almost unanimous vote of Parliament.

Having rejected the policy of integration, we are trying to find that synthesis of the two sets of rights along the lines of *apartheid*, the separateness of the races. We do not claim that we have a blue-print

for the next hundred years. We frankly admit that we shall, in many respects, have to proceed by the method of trial and error. But we do believe that along the lines of *apartheid* it is possible to create conditions under which both races can retain their identity, can develop to their full extent, and can find a way to live amicably together within the boundaries of the same State.

To do this, however, it is necessary to develop the existing system of *apartheid.* Without in the least claiming that we have a clear-cut solution for every possible phase of the vast problem, the aims of the present Government may be summarized thus : the Native reserves, still further to be enlarged to some extent, must be regarded as the home of the Bantu, where their interests are paramount. As L. E. Neame rightly put it in the previous issue of THE FORTNIGHTLY,* "*apartheid* places no ceiling over any race in its own home." Within the reserves the Bantu must be trained to become more and more exclusively the administrators, the civil servants, the professional men, the merchants and artisans, as well as the peasants and labourers. The reserves, even though the costs be high, must be developed, not only agriculturally but also industrially. These industries must eventually be manned and run by the Bantu themselves. The Government have recently announced that a commission is to be appointed to work out a long range policy for such a development. Meanwhile a textile mill, with Bantu labour, has already been erected on the edge of one reserve. A Bill, too, has been drafted to provide for the training of Bantu building artisans to be employed within the reserves and in the Native townships outside the reserves.

We already have a system of restricted local self-government in some of the reserves. This system is to be extended to all of them and developed, thus gradually giving the Bantu more and more control over their own affairs. Eventually this must lead up to a Central Bantu Council to deal with matters common to all the reserves. Machinery for very close contact and consultation between the Government and the reserve councils, eventually the Central Council, must be evolved.

The most difficult part of the problem, quite frankly, concerns the Bantu outside the reserves. A large proportion of them, it is true, are migrant labourers who periodically return to their tribal homes. Others, however, have already become detribalized. Under this system of *apartheid* the Bantu outside the reserves will have fewer rights than those in the reserves. Here, too, the idea is that in their townships adjoining the white man's cities, a system of municipal self-government should be developed, and that within those townships

* December 1950 : " Nationalism in South Africa " by L. E. Neame, formerly the editor of the *Cape Argus.*

the Bantu should be helped, by legislation and otherwise, to become the officials, tradesmen, and so on. But for the rest the asssumption is that the reserves are their home.

What I have sketched broadly must necessarily be a long process, and one that will lay a heavy financial burden on the whites. How, in this process details will need working out ; how conditions may change and experience may necessitate amendments to the system ; how, when the Bantu eventually reach a stage of development which justifies it, a system can be developed to give the Bantu in the reserves an adequate say in the central government of their country—these are questions which no one at this stage can answer.

In this article I have merely been able to touch on a few aspects of the vast subject and indicate the tremendous complexity of our problem, a problem which the white South African nation must either solve itself—or go under.

(*Dr. Geyer is the High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa.*)

CONSERVATIVE STRATEGY

By T. E. Utley

THE Conservative defeat of 1945 was so sudden and unforeseen and came at the end of so long a period of Tory ascendancy that it was natural to regard it as the beginning of an era. It was tempting to see in it the fulfilment of a prophecy heard often during the debates on popular enfranchisement in the last century that once the working classes were given power they would use it concertedly and systematically to establish economic equality through Socialism. Victorian critics of democracy, like Lecky, had held that it was as idle to suppose that a democratic electorate would authorize the survival of the rich as it was to suppose that a poor man who had the chance of acquiring a comfortable income by making a mark on a slip of paper would refrain from doing so because he thought himself unworthy of wealth.

It was easy to explain the delay of over half a century in the fulfilment of this prediction. No newly enfranchised class has enough self-confidence to use its influence effectively until it has had it for at least a generation. It took the manufacturers who got the vote in 1832 at least 30 years to shake off the habit of submitting to the leadership of the landed gentry. Furthermore, *bourgeois* parliaments after 1867 had the wisdom to exempt a large part of the newly-enfranchised electorate from taxation, and it is a common experience that men do not find it easy to think of themselves as controlling the State, or even possibly to think of the State at all until it impinges on them in the form of a demand for money. Certainly the extension of income-tax to practically the whole community during the last war was one of the factors which helped to increase political consciousness, and this increase in political consciousness was in turn one of the main causes of the Labour victory. It was therefore possible to make a good case for the view that the election of 1945 showed more than a normal swing of the pendulum and that for decades at least it would be as natural for an industrial worker or an agricultural labourer to vote Socialist as it had been for a bank clerk to vote Conservative.

Most Conservative politicians were no doubt protected from these morbid reflections by pressure of business and professional indifference to historical speculation, and any who did indulge them

probably had their confidence restored in 1950. The party indeed has good cause for congratulating itself on its first five years of opposition. To begin with it reeled and scattered and seemed to be held together by nothing more constant than allegiance to the person of its leader. Some of its members tried to rehabilitate it by a frontal attack on Socialism and implied pledges to remove from the statute book all specifically Socialist laws. Others tried to work out how the party could usefully function within the framework of such Socialist legislation as it could not prevent and how it could interpret its traditional principles in terms of the needs and wishes of a twentieth century electorate.

By slow degrees something like a coherent policy emerged. The party began to demand, with little more than one voice, the reduction of public expenditure to keep down inflation and the cost of living and the redistribution of what remained in order to see that everything essential in the programme of a welfare State was preserved. It reconciled itself to the nationalization of the bank, coal and most of transport, and worked out a sensible scheme for making the coal industry more efficient by decentralizing its administration. On the negative side the Government did much to make the Opposition's case for it, for nationalization had not succeeded so startlingly as to convince the electorate that it was wise to extend it to steel. Finally, since it was evident that the country needed more houses than the Government were building, and since the presumption is always that failures of this kind are the Government's fault, the Conservatives had an excellent popular grievance to exploit. All these advantages, combined with a great improvement in electoral technique, succeeded in reducing Labour's majority from nearly 150 to 6. Since the Government's popularity is in the natural course of things almost certain to have declined in a year which has had rather more than its fair quota of woes, the Opposition may confidently expect at least a narrow margin of success at the next election, assuming it takes place within six months and without any conspicuous improvement in the country's condition.

The questions posed by the 1945 election, however, have not yet been answered. Labour's victory then was due not only to the solid phalanx of working-class support, which it achieved for the first time in its history, but to an equally surprising development, the desertion of a great part of the middle classes to Socialism. The Socialists have clearly not decided themselves which of these factors is the more important, and accordingly are trying hard to appear simultaneously as authentically Socialist and respectably reformist, which they do by a careful allocation of time at party conferences between Mr. Aneurin Bevan and Mr. Herbert Morrison. In 1950 the Conser-

vatives regained most of what they had lost in the rural and suburban strongholds of property, but in the large towns they produced a scarcely perceptible dent in the Socialist front. If they get a majority at the next election they will probably owe it not to any redistribution of opinion between the classes but to a few marginal and temporary conversions prompted by dissatisfaction with the Government's failures. The party is still to a large extent on the defensive. Its main hope is still to wrest victory from national disaster and to benefit from the impression of incompetence produced by its opponents, but it can never again count on this incompetence being assumed. If Labour is censured at the next election it will be for particular failures, not general and inherent inadequacy.

The Conservative Party's future will thus not be secure until it has shown itself capable of attracting a large part of working-class opinion away from Socialism while retaining supremacy over the middle classes. Conservatism may again be saved by a crisis but it cannot evade the duty of producing a programme which will offer something more than a promise of prudent administration to compete with the commodities offered by its opponents. Other than purely tactical considerations should encourage the party to undertake this task. However many controls it may abolish and however much it may economize, it will still have to administer a largely socialized economy and accept full employment and the maintenance of the social services in roughly their present form as the objectives of its domestic policy. As the experience of Labour has shown, it is comparatively easy to reach these objectives and to maintain them for a while if everything else is subordinated to them, but the Conservative Party's main claim to confidence rests on its awareness that everything else cannot be subordinated to them, and that in the long run employment and the social services depend on productivity and the defeat of inflation.

The dilemma which has been staring the parties in the face for five years, that under full employment wages must necessarily rise and there must therefore be a permanent tendency to inflation, has been ignored by both parties. In both cases the reason is the same, the knowledge that the most powerful organized interest in the country, the trade union movement, is opposed to a wages policy. The only alternative to a wages policy, the continued acceptance of voluntary restraints on wage claims, and the submission of wage disputes to the national arbitration tribunal which decides them, at least in theory, on an *ad hoc* basis, has already begun to break down under Socialism and will almost certainly collapse under a Conservative government. It is equally clear, of course, that a wages policy adapted to the needs of the national economy as a whole and worked out in collaboration

etween the unions, the Government and both sides in industry, would epend in the last resort on the goodwill of the unions, which is not at resent forthcoming ; but the Conservative Party would command nore respect and indeed arouse less suspicion if it put forward its own roposals for such a policy instead of simply ignoring the existence f the problem and dwelling with pride on Disraeli's contribution o the growth of trade unionism.

As a contribution to Conservative social policy the industrial harter has great value because it emphasizes the truth on which onservatives must always insist: that legislation is not the only nstrument of reform. The party has wisely refused to pledge itself o imposing the charter by law on all industries, although it is resumably committed to applying its recommendations to the ationalized industries. Even here, however, it does not answer the uestion with which the trade unions are preoccupied, that is, how ar they are to be given a voice in the control of the industries. The overnment have repeatedly refused the demand for trade union epresentation on the boards of nationalized industries on the ground nat the sole qualification for membership should be administrative bility. Since the boards are presumably intended to be the equivaent of boards of directors in private companies, the argument does ot hold good, since there the essential qualification is the confidence f the shareholders, which depends at least as much on a general eputation for probity and zeal in the defence of their interests as on echnical competence. The case for associating the unions as losely as possible with the making of national economic policy is resistible. The unions have it in their power to frustrate that policy nd will be most tempted to do so under a Conservative government. he Conservatives ought therefore to investigate how far the unions' emand for representation is compatible with efficiency.

In general the most positive contribution which the party could ow make is to concentrate on working out new methods of adminisation for that sector of the national economy which must remain nder State control and on considering the means by which the tate can supervise, without nationalizing, what remains of private dustry. The ideal, a joint partnership between State, owners and orkers, which used to go under the discredited name of corporatism, implicit in the industrial charter, but its application raises a host of uestions which cannot be answered by mere intuition. The roblem is constitutional as well as economic. How the balance n be struck between exposing nationalized industries to too much inisterial and parliamentary interference, and allowing them to evelop into State-defended and State-subsidized monopoly, is nother question which demands expert and minute examination.

Imperial preference, the last constructive idea which the Conservative Party contributed to economic thought, is no longer an election issue, though on occasion its ghost still disturbs the party's peace of mind. Labour, while imposing rigid controls on domestic production and consumption, in order to curb " the chaos of private enterprise " and stop " the insane see-saw of slumps and booms," has at the same time committed the country to a general lowering of tariffs and to a promise not to create new preferences. The great slumps and booms of the past, however, were due not to competition between British capitalists but to unregulated international competition, and the Opposition might have been profitably employed in pointing out this inconsistency in Government policy. Instead, it has acquiesced in the reduction of imperial preferences and the acceptance of the principles of multilateral trading, with only occasional murmurs of dissent, in formal tribute to the party's ancestry. It is also opposed to State trading, even as a temporary measure. Now, in the absence of preferential tariffs, State buying and selling, exchange control and import and export licensing, all of which the Conservatives have from time to time condemned, are the only means of regulating the flow of foreign trade. As German and Japanese industry recovers the hazards of international trade will increase and no-one seriously supposes that it will be possible to abandon discriminatory trading practices in a foreseeable time. Instead of opposing the mechanism now being used for controlling foreign trade the party ought to be considering a substitute for it. From a doctrinal point of view the preferential tariff has everything to commend it, but a detailed inquiry into its relevance to modern conditions is urgently needed. The party should at least give the electorate some idea of what its views on foreign trade are.

There are, of course, strong objections to the party's making a pronouncement on any of these questions now. The trade unions might be offended if a wages policy were substituted for the annual panegyric at the party conference on collective bargaining. The party might be split and the Americans offended by any suggestion that a Conservative government might extend preferential trading. Above all, an Opposition which announced its policy in detail would disqualify itself for office at a time when skill in leading a hand to mouth existence is the quality which governments most need. But a systematic study of these questions, if only in private, might in time bear fruit in a more intelligible and coherent picture of how a Conservative government would behave, and it is precisely the lack of such a picture that is the Opposition's most serious weakness. Like Labour, it is committed to making Britain prosperous without depending wholly on compulsion or on the undirected energies of

rivate producers. The formula sounds good in the abstract and n the platform, but it presents practical difficulties which can only e overcome by long-term thinking of a kind for which few politicians ave the time.

The Conservative Party is not hampered by a creed which professes o answer all questions in advance. It has already produced some seful thought on a number of practical subjects. It has rightly oncentrated on attacking nationalization and it will probably con- nce the electorate that it is capable of muddling more efficiently an Labour, but it still cannot be acquitted of having entered into a onspiracy of silence with its opponents on the one question which atters more than all the rest put together : how can liberty and emocracy be reconciled with the planning necessary to a welfare tate ?

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ASPECTS OF FEDERALISM

By H. S. Nicholas

CANADA, in January last, appointed a committee of Attorneys General to revise the British North America Act and to give the Dominion power to amend its own Constitution without the intervention of the Imperial Parliament. Later in the same month the Republic of India formally adopted a Federal Constitution. Australia is now celebrating the Jubilee of " one indissoluble Federal Commonwealth " proclaimed on January 11, 1901. The British Caribbean Territories in conference a few years back passed a resolution recognizing the desirability of a political federation.

The use of the term " federal " gives little information of itself. It describes a union in which a number of independent communities agree in writing, while each retains its separate identity, to surrender some of their powers to a newly created authority which, while exercising these limited powers, shall command the obedience of the citizens of them all. Such a union is distinguished from the system of co-operation known as the British Commonwealth of Nations, a system which, on the admission of the Balfour Report, is likely to puzzle foreigners. Also it is not a confederation, which issues commands to States but not to citizens, of which the most conspicuous examples are the Confederation of the American Colonies before 1879 and the Confederation of Swiss Cantons before 1848. Still again it is distinguished from the Council of Europe, which though its members have adopted a written statute and have agreed upon a committee of representatives of governments and a consultative assembly, has no power to coerce its members or to prescribe either external or domestic policies for them.

But the term "federal" tells us little of the division of power, of the vitality of the States or of the strength of the central authority. The Caribbean Territories, however, have gone beyond generalities. A resolution of 1947 accepts the principle of a federation in which each unit retains complete control over all matters except those specifically assigned to a federal government. In this it follows the American and Australian as opposed to the Canadian precedent. It now recommends a " British Caribbean Federation on the Australian pattern and the establishment of a Supreme Court as an indispensable part of the Constitution." In this it follows the Australian model

f responsible government in a federation and two houses in the egislature, one elected on a population basis and one in which the tates are represented equally.

The advantages of a Constitution of the federal type are that it nables a number of communities of similar interests to arrange common system of defence and uniform duties of Customs, to speak ith one voice in Commonwealth or international councils and to liminate internal barriers, while the subordinate units do not se their stimulus to self-development.

What other advantages it may possess must depend to some xtent on external events, on the quality of the men who control its overnment, and on the degree to which public-spirited citizens are ttracted by political life. The States may retain their vitality and ffer a field for experiment and a training ground for national atesmen, or they may succumb to a gradual paralysis at the centre nd anaemia at the circumference through a process of concentrating l forms of legislation and administration at the seat of government. omething may depend on the size of the original units as in Australia here New South Wales and Queensland are unsuitable for local overnment, something on the desire of one or more political parties ke the Labour Party in Australia for a uniform industrial standard. ut no-one with the history of the English-speaking federations before m would forecast the development of a federation from the aims of s founders.

In Australia the Conventions of 1891, 1897 and 1898 emphasized e continued importance of the States. In Canada the founders, indful of the American War of Secession, desired the subordination the Provinces. In Australia the States have gradually lost their ositions relative to the Commonwealth until to-day by an unexpected anipulation of sections they have been cut off from their principal ea of taxation and a change intended for a war emergency has come a permanent element in the Constitution. In Canada the rovinces have grown in independence, they agree or disagree with e Dominion Government but they are not coerced and no substantial teration would be made in their rights without their consent.

The history of both the federations within the British ommonwealth has in the past half century been profoundly fluenced by external events, by the two world wars, by a world-wide pression and by the progress towards autonomy of the members of e British Commonwealth. Through the needs of defence the ntral authority has become the principal taxing and borrowing strumentality ; citizens have become accustomed to a unitary vernment, however irksome they may feel it. The central authority ving asserted its competence to make treaties and appoint

ambassadors has, even in time of peace, assumed the appearance of the only government in all but trifling concerns.

The inherent anomaly of Federalism is that as the price of union one generation assumes the right to make a law binding on its remote successors. John Marshall, Chief Justice of the U.S.A., referred to this difficulty when in 1803 he spoke of the functions of the Supreme Court : " The exercise of this original right is a very great exertion. Nor can it, nor ought it to be, frequently repeated. The principles, therefore, so established are deemed fundamental and as the authority from which they proceed is supreme and can seldom be invoked they are deemed to be permanent." Lord Jowitt in 1947, when giving the judgment of the Privy Council on a reference from Canada, spoke of " the familiar difficulty of determining which of two alternative meanings is to be given to an instrument the authors of which did not contemplate either meaning." Similar expressions have been used in recent judgments of the Supreme Court of the U.S.A. and of the High Court of Australia. The " familiar difficulty" would have proved insuperable if the Constitution had not been framed in very general terms. Courts have been sensitive to the spirit of the times and have given the words to be interpreted the meaning they bear at the date of the litigation, though it might not have entered the minds of the draftsmen. " Although ", said one of the original Justices of the High Court of Australia, " we are to interpret the words of the Constitution on the same principles of interpretation as we are to apply to any ordinary law, these very principles compel us to take into account the nature and scope of the Act that we are interpreting, to remember that it is a Constitution, a mechanism under which laws are to be made and not a mere Act which declares what the law is to be."

The pragmatic method has made of each Constitution a workable instrument. But it has been applied both to prohibitions and to grants of power and the practical effect of a broad interpretation has, in some cases, been neutralized by the unexpected strength of a negative or implied negative. In the Australian Bank case, to take a recent instance, though nationalization was held by four Justices to two to be within the words of the banking power, the act of the Government was restrained by an injunction that trade, commerce and intercourse between the States should be absolutely free. The method has inevitably given rise to many differences of opinion among the Justices and has exposed the Court to criticism as a political institution.

Another safety valve is in co-operation between States or between one or more States and the Union. In the U.S.A. the Tennessee Valley Authority provides the most recent illustration, another is the Harbour Authority of New York and New Jersey. In Australia the Commonwealth has combined with the States of

Victoria and New South Wales to regulate the waters of the Murray and with New South Wales and Queensland to build a strategic railway to Brisbane. New South Wales and Victoria have made an arrangement for the purpose of extending the Victorian Railway system into the south-west of New South Wales.

Co-operation has proved a potent means for extending the influence of the Commonwealth. Having an unlimited power of taxation and an exclusive control of Customs revenue the Commonwealth is in a position to make grants to the States and to make them subject to conditions. In Australia grants have been made for the improvement of country roads, subject to prescribed contributions in money and to prescribed conditions of road-making. In the U.S.A. there have been numerous grants for highways, for education and for agriculture. In Canada it is proposed to build a road from Halifax to Vancouver by a co-operative effort of the Dominions and the Provinces.

The most striking instance of a liberal interpretation in all three federations relates to the defence power. "Naval and military defence" are words that have been held in Australia to apply to the civilian population as well as to the armed forces, so that the central government may be empowered to regulate the price of bread in a suburban bakery and the hours of labour in a factory as well as the enlistment of soldiers and sailors, or to make uniforms or in U.S.A. supply hydro-electric power as a preparation for war in time of peace. The country in relation to defence lives under a unitary, or almost a unitary system. Another instance of the same method is found in trade between the States, so that the central government may prescribe for stevedores engaged on overseas ships or in manufacturing goods for shipment between States. Encroachment is easier when the central government exercises enumerated powers, when the advance is on an open field and there is no written check on the ingenuity of the few officers. Results have been achieved which have made Constitutions work without amendment but sometimes by decisions at the expense of the text, which would have made John Marshall or Sir Samuel Griffith stare and gasp.

None of the Federal Constitutions provides for revision at fixed intervals. There is nothing like the command in Leviticus that possessions should be re-assessed after 49 years, or the lawyer's rule against perpetuities as opposed to public policy. Each Constitution makes some provision for amendment whether by referendum or by consultation with the States, but amendment is a piecemeal process and as Chief Justice Marshall said in the passage already quoted it is seldom used. In a country where party spirit permeates everything a referendum will not be answered in the affirmative unless there is some agreement between parties. In all three English-speaking

countries reference has been made at some time to an " emergency " as justifying the assumption of complete power, though not included in the text. Franklin Roosevelt referred to it in his first Inaugural during the depression and there is provision for an emergency in the Constitution in India. But this weapon has never been tested. It remains true that the most effective means of change is the readiness of the courts to give effect to the decisions of Parliament.

In any federation the most persistent and the most intractable problem is finance. The central government has exclusive control of Customs and a power to levy income and other taxes in priority to lesser governments. It may by use or misuse of its supremacy obliterate the taxable capacity of the States, as it has done in Australia, unless public opinion stands up to it as it has done in Canada. The States are unequal in their resources and in their scope for development but equal in their demands for social services. In consequence there must be some distribution among them of the revenue collected by the Commonwealth and some diminution of the responsibility of State or provincial Governments for their respective programmes. Nowhere has this difficulty been so acute as in Australia. The methods devised to meet it have been ingenious, not to say drastic—the Financial Agreement for an allocation of revenue, protection by the Constitution and for the regulation of borrowing, the appointment of a States Grants Commission, which by its own exertions has acquired semi-judicial authority. But the Australian solution has not commended itself to Canada nor has it been treated as more than a curiosity by inquirers from the United States.

The apparent anomalies of Federalism are the control which the founders exercise over succeeding generations and the responsibility of a court for deciding political issues. It is noteworthy that the tribunal in which attention has been called to these anomalies is the Privy Council and not a federal court, first by Earl Birkenhead and more recently by Lord Porter. The difficulties are in the existence of two administrations, each chafing on any limitation of its powers, and of a majority in Parliament ready and eager to do with all the affairs of the community. Perhaps the best comment on the anomalies is that federations continue to exist and to find imitators and that none of their critics can find an instance in which legislation supported by wide popular demand has been frustrated by the Constitution.

The best solution of the difficulties is in the reasonableness of legislators and administrators as the federal system becomes part of their environment, possibly even in the existence of the party system which warns an acquisitive Minister that he will one day be in Opposition.

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BRITISH POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

By Kenneth Williams

TWICE during the present century Britain has stood on something of a pinnacle in the Middle East. The first time was at the end of the 1914-1918 war, when the Ottoman Empire was in ruins as a result of British military endeavour ; the second, at the end of the 1939-1945 war, when once again British arms had saved the Middle East from invasion. I am not saying that those two positions were comparable, nor that they could, in the nature of things, have been maintained. But on the basis of a recent tour of the Arab East, I do say that Britain's position to-day is not as high as it might be.

Some of the causes of this decline in British influence were beyond Britain's control, and it is no part of my purpose to attempt to apportion personal blame for a state of affairs which can console few Britons in the Middle East. It is more constructive to suggest what might be done to redeem Britain from the charge of being an impotent spectator of developments in the Middle East. Is this country doing all she might to help the Arabs ? Is her policy resolute and clear-cut ? Has she a definite goal in view ? Are her representatives adequately briefed and constant in objective ? Or is there no policy at all but one of general, vague, and uncrystallized benevolence ? Are British representatives in the Middle East pursuing a co-ordinated or a separate policy in the States to which they are respectively accredited ? Are they content with the oft-expressed wish of Whitehall that there shall be stability and economic development in the Arab lands ? To these questions, the traveller in the Middle East could add many more ; but multiplication, though not difficult, might well confuse the issue. At the risk of over-simplification, I would select two aspects of the problem of British policy in the Middle East.

First, I would assert that it is a cardinal error to assume, as is too often assumed in Whitehall, that economics precede politics in the Arab East. That is an axiom to which we became accustomed in the early days of syndicalism and guild socialism ; but it has no apparent application in the Arab East. It is good that British technical experts, whether in agriculture, industry, banking, and so on, should be at hand to help fashion the Arab economies, if the Arabs should

ask for such services ; and I am far from decrying the very useful work which the Middle East Office, with headquarters in Cairo, has done, is doing, and can do. But it is quite futile to complain that the Arabs have not utilized the services of that Office as much as they might have done, and argues some ignorance of Arab psychology. You simply cannot pull an economic joker out of the pack and win a game of cards in Arabic-speaking countries—the Arabs may take your money, may even listen to your advice, but you will not have won the rubber. On the other hand, had Britain a political joker, her influence would be increased a hundred fold.

It is curious to see how this myth that the Arabs have only to be materially prosperous to be politically content persists in the minds of some British officials. Such a misplaced belief lay near the root of British errors in Palestine. The Colonial Office, or at least some people in that Office said in effect : " Politics in Palestine ? Don't you worry about them. When once the Arabs see what they have to gain materially by co-operation with the Jews, all will be well. No Semitic mind is going to refuse substantial benefits. Carry on with the task of getting Arab and Jew to live together, to earn money together, and the political problem will solve itself."

That such a diagnosis was fundamentally misconceived was recognized, however, long before the Palestine Mandate was surrendered. Yet, depressingly enough, the Foreign Office, which has succeeded to much in the Middle East that was once handled by the Colonial Office, has not sufficiently disentangled itself from this legacy of thought. There are still British officials who think that steady economic progress in the Arab East will solve all political problems therein, that better living standards for all are the main, if not the only, goal at which to aim in the Middle East. It is an interpretation which looks very much more plausible from London than in the countries concerned.

British officials and private British businessmen have done, and still are doing, admirable work in the physical regeneration of derelict or under-developed areas. Nor are such plans as those of the Clapp Mission, with its near eye on the tragic refugee problem, and its far eye on the Arabs' economic future, anything but praiseworthy. Such economic analysis and recommendation are urgent and necessary. But economic planning is no substitute for the policy which is my second point. It is a policy of which Britain stands in greatest need in the Middle East. Cabinets come and Cabinets go in Arab capitals, and Britain remains where she is—a helpless onlooker. In existing circumstances, perhaps, it could hardly be otherwise. For more than a century, British influence has been at a premium (at least compared with the influence of other foreign nations) in the Middle East. Britain is now in a withdrawing mood ; leave the Arabs to

their own political devices, she says ; they are independent now, it is not for us to interfere, and the Arabs must be allowed " to run their own show." It is not only impracticable, say those who favour the " watching brief " attitude, but also indecent to give advice when it has not been requested, and independent members of the United Nations must be treated strictly as independent.

All this is in keeping with Britain's renunciation of anything which might savour of old-fashioned ideas about " spheres of influence " and so on. Yet—is it what the Arabs themselves most want ? Some of the shrewdest Arab brains feel acutely the vacuum which Britain has left in the Middle East. Iraq can go off the rails, as she did in the Rashid Ali revolt of 1941—a revolt which, in the general Arab view, could very easily have been prevented. Syria can indulge in *coup* after *coup*, while Britain her deliverer, stands idly by. The Lebanon and Syria, and Syria and Iraq, can be at loggerheads with each other, and no authoritative British voice can be heard calling them to sense. We watch and report and drift where formerly we advised and shaped and guided ; and there is little doubt which rôle the Arabs, for all their love of independence and fondness of denouncing " imperialism ", would prefer for Britain.

But, it may be said, Britain has not the material power she once had in the Middle East. The Palestine question was " settled ", or arranged in a manner which eloquently proved how Britain's powers have been curtailed. Nor, it may be added in this argument, has Britain to-day the financial resources which might have induced the Arabs to pay more respect to her word. In all these considerations there is truth, and Britain cannot and ought not to attempt to pursue a lone policy in the Middle East.

Yet Britain could still be a moral leader. She could, even now, invite the United States and France to a conference at which agreed long-term policies should be laid down. At such a conference, there would, inevitably, be much plain speaking, but this is preferable to intrigue or suspicion, on the one hand, or impotence on the other. What, for instance, does France most want in the Middle East (I am not thinking of such material things as oil, which in any case is assured to France through her holding in the Iraq Petroleum Company) ? She wants, surely, to see preserved her cultural influence, an influence which neither the United States nor Britain wishes to see curbed. Had Britain so wished, French cultural influence in Egypt would not be the force it is to-day. What does the United States most want from the Arab East ? She wants, above all, to see it as a bastion against Communism, following a policy in harmony with that which she is buttressing in Turkey and Persia. Again, there is no difference here with either France or Britain. But Britain, I hold, should aim at more positive things.

It would probably be agreed by most observers in the Middle East that Britain must work with her partners in Western Union, and that no local differences in the Middle East should be allowed to prejudice the Union's aim. But there need be no flabbiness because of that consideration. A wrong in the Middle East perpetuated for the sake of Western Union does not become less of a wrong, and although the whole is greater than the part, we need not turn a blind eye on the various parts. In the Middle East, no less than elsewhere in the world, it is essential that there should be the utmost measure of agreement between those who support the world against Communism. But to slide over minor differences is, in my view, cowardly and unconstructive ; and in the Middle East it is, *par excellence*, a constructive policy that is urgently needed.

Last May there was signed the famous Tripartite Declaration on the Middle East, by which Britain, the United States, and France pledged themselves to keep the peace in that region. This was regarded as a tremendous achievement in diplomacy, an unprecedented step forward, and in London, Washington and Paris may still be so regarded, to judge from the satisfaction with which Mr. Bevin referred to it in the Foreign Affairs debate on November 29. But in the Middle East itself it caused little emotion. Since its promulgation there has been scant sign of a marked turning towards the western democracies as if they alone could save the Middle East (though, to be fair, it is obvious even to the most hardened critic of western diplomacy in the Middle East, that that region cannot be saved except with the help of the west). To the Arabs, the Declaration, until it is translated into action—and to the Arabs this means the three great powers curbing Israeli pretensions—will remain *kalam* (words). The Middle East, accustomed to vernacular verbiage, wants from the western democracies visible proof of good intentions. British and American officials, in particular, recognize now that the Tripartite Declaration has largely fallen flat ; but some, at least, are wondering what else may be done to help these " difficult " Arab States.

Here it is suggested that Britain, who has, after all, incomparably the richest experience of the Arab world among all foreign nations, should seek the agreement of the United States and France to a general policy of working, with every respect for presently sovereign rights, for a federation of Arab countries, beginning with Iraq, Syria, and the Jordan. Of course there would be obstacles, especially at the outset ; the vested, dynastic, separatist and cultural interests would inveigh against the proposal. This is revolutionary, it would be argued, and at a time, when the preservation of the *status quo* is in the world's interest. To the present generation of those who hold power in Arab capitals, the project might indeed be anathema, though foreign representatives must cultivate Oppositions as well as

Governments in office. The policy I have suggested would be revised for a period, not of the next five nor even the next ten years. It is a policy which, in my judgment, would increasingly attract the best minds among the Arabs, those who envisage the highest and widest interests of the Arabs, not those who aim merely at keeping things as they are. It is a policy to which all developments, whether for or against such an end, could be related. It is, above all, a policy for which British representatives and, it is to be hoped, American and French representatives, could be persuaded enthusiastically to work.

It is natural enough that in the Middle East, in which personalities count for so much, the policies of certain foreign nations should be identified with certain Arab personalities. Thus, so-and-so is held to be a "stooge" of Britain, or France ; and someone else is held to be in America's pocket. All this is neither edifying nor helpful. What is needed is to plan for the time when all such personalities, are dead. The Arabs, as T. E. Lawrence long ago discoverd, can be swung on the thread of a dream. Some Arabs are but dreamers, some but talkers, some but schemers. The world holds many such examples. But there is, in all Arab lands, a sufficient number of men who can, with stimulus and encouragement, work ardently and steadily for a goal ; and there is no goal to compare, in the long run, with the renascence and the solidarity of the Arabs.

Frenchmen, in their present mood, and thinking particularly of North Africa, may dread greater Arab unity, Americans, with their doctrinaire insistence on local independence, may dread venturing into the unknown. Such considerations must be taken into account. But unless Britain, at any rate, keeps a forward look, there is danger of stagnation, not material stagnation—for the Arab East is destined inevitably to develop very considerably—but moral. Nothing could be worse for the Arabs than to know, or even to think, that Britain is indifferent to their political evolution; for in such assumed indifference there is the opportunity for most unscrupulous politicians to arise. That is primarily why I advocate a long-term policy, to be developed, not from the void, but from existing régimes, whose present privileges would necessarily have to be respected, until such time as the Arabs themselves chose to remove them. It is not for Britain to attempt to divest existing régimes of their powers ; but if it became known that Britain, instead of following a policy of *fainéance*, favoured for the ultimate future such and such a line, there might well be, after initial and possibly prolonged fluttering in the dove-cotes, such cooing as has not been heard in the Arab East for many a day.

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SPANIARDS AND GENERAL FRANCO

By John Culshaw

THERE are still a few bandits in the hills, but little notice is taken of them, least of all by the Civil Guards. In return, they give little trouble ; an occasional night traveller may lose his car and his clothes, but unless he raises armed opposition his life will not be in danger. Nor will his politics make any difference, since the few remaining bandits are not essentially political outlaws but are, more correctly, an isolated symbol of the lethargic rebelliousness to be found everywhere in modern Spain. It is not that the people are actively in opposition to the Franco régime, nor is it by any means true that the vast army of multi-uniformed police is responsible for the absence of underground movements on any significant scale ; it is principally that the people have no unified conception of what kind of régime would replace General Franco. This, in conjunction with the well-known Spanish antipathy towards *any* kind of government, has granted him an unexpected if artificial security, nurtured mainly on the inactive restlessness and confusion of the populace. We tend to forget that the real leaders of the people are in exile, and that a long period of fascist " education " has not been entirely ineffective. And from the aspect of the liberal Spaniard, the most confusing factor of all has been the ambiguous attitude of the western powers in their post-war dealings with Spain.

The Spaniard has to be very cautious ; he knows the penalty for even the most indirect criticism of the régime, and is inclined to reject the official figures which assess the number of imprisoned political offenders at roughly 20,000. (He would like to ask questions about the number of executions.) But he is not without a means of expressing his hostility to the régime. If, from your accent, he does not realize that you are a foreigner, he will feign ignorance when you ask the way to the Avenida de José Antonio in Madrid or the Plaza de General Franco in Granada ; if, on the other hand, he realizes your innocence, he will in one case direct you politely to the Gran Via and in the other to the Plaza Nueva—the original, non-fascist names of the places concerned. Such an attitude is typical of the subdued, resigned opposition to be found everywhere except among the wealthy minority. And it is, of course, not experienced by the American and British tourists who assess modern Spain on the strength of conversations in the foyer of the Ritz in Madrid.

If, however, one goes to the little cafés behind the Plaza Mayor in Madrid or to the dockside drinking houses in Malága one soon realizes that General Franco's moderate Fascism has few supporters among those who live by means of active work, whether on the waterfront or in a bank. Surprisingly—though not so, apparently, to those who have made long studies of the Spanish character—the incredibly low level of wages is the least of the complaints ; what irks the Spaniard is the sense that he has been cheated of something. In the case of those who took an active part in the war, the resentment is still based on the nature of General Franco's uprising and the facts of German and Italian intervention ; in the case of the younger Spaniards—those who were children during the war—the resentment arises through an awareness of what they are missing. Admittedly some of these things are trivialities, but trivialities make up a good deal of the substance of common life ; not even General Franco's rigorous censorship can prevent foreign films, for instance, from giving a youth some idea of the freedom enjoyed by his equivalent in neighbouring European countries. He would like to be able to bathe in swimming trunks without (theoretically) breaking the law ; or to be able to wear an open-neck shirt on the streets of Madrid ; or to write a letter with the certainty that it will not be censored. As things are, he can do all of these ; swimming trunks are sold openly in the city shops and are worn on the beaches, open shirts are paraded in Madrid and there are several ways of avoiding the censorship. But all the time he is aware that niggling rules are being broken, and that he might be punished ; as in the case of his colleague who was arrested in the streets of Seville for having produced a cigarette lighter—banned in Spain to encourage the sales of State-manufactured paper matches. (One can, it is true, obtain a permit, but only at considerable expense and after months of formalities.) Once out of sight of the police, however, lighters are flaunted with pride and one rarely sees matches used after dark.

A similar kind of opposition is to be found in the little Andalusian villages perched in the mountains between Granada and the coast. Here the degree of freedom is greater ; immediate authority rests with the local Civil Guards who, unless prepared to isolate themselves as hermits, must make certain advances and concessions to the village people. But Spanish pride is still triumphant ; even in the remotest villages the people are aware, for instance, that Franco has established a kind of national health insurance to which—at any rate in theory—all must contribute. Yet the service is used only under great stress of circumstances, and then with considerable grudge. And this is clearly not because the people can well afford private treatment but simply because they do not wish to recognize concessions made by a régime they do not support. Pig-headed ? Maybe, but it is another

manifestation of the Spanish attitude towards something which has violated a fundamental code of honour.

The people do not seem greatly alarmed or excited by the spread of Communism in Europe ; they are inclined to shrug and reserve comment until the proverbial *manaña*. Equally, however, they are not deceived by the hysterical outbursts of the Franco press, and the youth—if not the older men and women—welcome the communist doctrines if only on the basis that they would remove the power of the Church. Indeed, except for a few outstanding and outspoken thinkers (the Archbishop of Granada is one) the clergy appears to be little more than another of General Franco's innumerable police forces. There is a bitter irony in new churches being built in places where existing churches could seat twice the population while virtually nothing is done to build houses at a price even reasonably within the hope of an average wage-earner. One finds undernourished children, dressed in rags, selling prayer cards (St. Juan de Dios—*Padre* of the Poor) for 50 *centimos*, the proceeds to go towards the erection of a special window in the new church.

The average Spaniard welcomes the chance to talk to the foreign visitor who comes without special motive, though circumstances render all strangers initially suspect. He has little to offer except his conversation—though he may try to get you some American cigarettes at a rate slightly lower than the " official " black market charge of thirteen *pesetas*. One only becomes a financial consideration as one nears Gilbraltar, where almost any Spaniard will be glad to help you through the formalities and arrange for your pounds to be changed at a rate almost double that granted elsewhere. This is done through a colleague in Gibraltar (usually an Indian) who will not only change the cheques but will take the responsibility of carrying the money across the frontier. Like the Spaniard, all he demands is your trust ; a receipt, in any case, would have no legal validity. And when later in the village you join the Spaniard in a glass of wine, he will ask you the questions which from experience you know to be inevitable. He will want to know why Britain and America did nothing about General Franco at the end of the war, and why there are new rumours that full relations are to be re-established. He will wonder whether you have really noticed the corruption and inefficiency, the swagger of display buildings erected mainly to impress the naïve tourist, the poverty, the beggars, the children, the absurdities of the press, the bullying of the police, the immensity of the uniformed officialdom; he will wonder why the western Allies have done nothing about it, and he will wonder why you cannot explain.

(*The author has recently returned from Spain.*)

CHRISTIAN PROSPECTS IN EAST ASIA

By Cecil Northcott

EVENTS in Korea and China have focussed the attention of the west in the sharpest manner on the great continental areas and island territories which sweep from Ceylon eastwards to the hilippines. Including India, Pakistan and Burma as well as lalaya, China, Japan and Indonesia in its orbit the Far East, or as me prefer East Asia, contains a mighty slice of the world's peoples, out 1,160 millions. It has its ancient religions, cultural heritage, d social customs, but the bond between its millions of people is dmittedly a weak one. There is little that links an Indian to a orean, or a Chinese to a dweller in Indonesia. Unity in Asia has ver had the binding force of a universal religion, such as the west s had in Christianity, moulding culture and traditions and giving en the Finn and the Basque a common basis for living.

The Christian occupation of East Asia too is an extremely thin one. s effective roots do not go back beyond the mid-nineteenth century, d there are many of the pioneers still living in Britain and America. numbers the total Christian community—Roman Catholic and otestant—is probably about thirty millions, a sizeable enough group one country but scattered amongst East Asia's millions it is a inority in danger of being ignored, and even persecuted. The ristian communities in East Asia are dealing with precisely similar oblems that vexed St. Paul, and were the cause of most of his ters. They are in an apostolic situation surrounded by preponrant non-Christian communities, wrestling with the impact of social d economic forces, and the disunities within national boundaries at impinge harshly on small groups.

In Burma, for instance, Christianity is in danger of being considered the religion for minorities such as the Karens and the Kachins. e solidly Buddhist majority show few signs of yielding to Christian angelism, and now that there is no university under Christian nagement the higher ranks of Burmese leadership has no infiltran of Christian ideals. The Government policy on foreign entry d residence sharply restricts the possibilities of new missionaries, and nsequently the country areas and the Christian congregations guish for lack of supervision, a lack which the Burmese Church is yet unable to make up. In India and Pakistan, the Christian

Church is beginning to face one of the oldest of the tensions that are between a secular State, as in India, and in Pakistan between Christianity and the Islamic Church-State. So far all the signs suggest that there will be no head-on collision. Religious liberty is safeguarded in the constitutions of both countries, and there is immense respect for "Christian social service standards", and there are many Christians in the central and provincial Governments directing some of the eagerly planned reforms in education, village uplift and medical services. All this helps to give the Christian Church, with its Christian community numbering over ten millions, a certain "standing" in India and Pakistan. It is still however too economically dependent on the west, and may be in danger of losing respect in these two independent countries unless it makes speedier progress towards self-support.

In China a new chapter for the Christian Church is opening. What may be known as the "second great missionary era" is ending with the departure of western missionaries, and the ominous closing of communications with the outside world. The People's Government is not openly repressing Christian institutions, nor is it proscribing the Christian faith. It is proceeding with a "domestication" policy with the familiar pressure on the Church leaders to sign documents in order to present a scene of voluntary acquiescence to the new régime. The stigmatism of "imperialism", "foreign dependence", "American money" and "non-Chinese religion" is fastened on Christianity-descriptions which have made some Chinese Christians waver in their allegiance, but has stirred many others to speed the process of independence. The 13 bishops of the Anglican Communion, of whom now only one is British, in a manifesto "greatly rejoice in the liberation which has come to the people of our nation" and "acknowledge that the Church is not only unable to compromise with imperialism, feudalism or bureaucratic capitalism but takes issues with them as being fundamentally in opposition to the faith of the Church." The bishops also claim that the Church has made real achievements towards self-government, and self-support and that in the future there must also be "an emphasis on productive labour and the service of society."

A Communist-ruled China does not mean that China is as yet Communist, but the compulsory educative process has begun, and it would be foolish to imagine that the results will be different from those in other Communist-ruled countries. Fortunately the Church in China has some strong and able leaders who are aware of the danger they are facing. There is a welcome for the discipline, the honesty the control and efficiency of the new State on the part of many Christians, and a willingness to believe the best about it. But there are no illusions about the ultimate purpose of Communism in China.

In Japan, small as the Christian Church is (about 400,000 members), e post-war situation has provided opportunities for successful angelistic campaigns, and in Indonesia the excitements of in- pendence are stirring the vigorous young churches there to combat a cular nationalism which threatens to become an idol for many ristians. In Malaya, and in the Philippines there is an alert covery in Christian activity, and it is expected that in Korea, ovided the 38th parallel of division is abolished, there will be a more cessful use of the meagre Christian forces.

All this upheaval in East Asia however serves to emphasize the akness of the Christian Church there, and the formidable tasks ich lie in front of it. In mid-nineteenth century Christian optimism used to be thought that the great religions of the east were weaken- g, and would gradually cease to be under the weight of their own rtia. No Christian observer believes that to-day. At the Bangkok nference (December 1949) of Christian leaders in East Asia, the v. Charles Ranson, secretary of the International Missionary uncil speaking on this point said :

> We must remember for our chastening, that the growth of the Church has been east marked among the adherents of the great religious traditions. It is not an xaggeration to say that the Christian gospel has not yet made an effective impact n the adherents of any of the great classical religions which have their home in his continent. There have been great accessions to the Church but, invariably, here men and women have been won in large numbers to the Christian allegiance ey have been won from a background which is primarily animistic and tribal. Is too much to say that the Christian forces in Eastern Asia have not yet come ffectively to grips with the greater religious traditions ?

The danger facing the small Christian churches of Asia is enhanced cause of the tendency to link the ancient religions with nationalist vour. Although religious liberty may be constitutionally aranteed the subtle power of social custom and official favour may ily " outlaw " those who are not Buddhists, or Moslems, or ndus. Anyone who has lived in an Islamic country, such as ypt, knows how hard it is for the Christian community to maintain life in face of the all-pervading presence of Islam. A similar uation may develop in the new independent countries of Asia who y discover the need of an alliance with their ancient religions to y their peoples and bolster their national life. In any case the ristian communities can live only by a vigorous evangelistic life of ir own, and by being true to the calling of the Christian faith in ness and service. Christianity has won its footing, precarious ugh it may be in some places, by producing the sort of men and men who command respect by what they are. The new nations nt leaders of this kind, and may well look to the Christian groups

to produce them, but Christianity has no monopoly in this process. Revived Hinduism and Buddhism and a renaissance in Islam are attracting the youth of the east in a manner which must challenge Christianity. These are counter-strokes not conceived in an anti-Christian spirit but through the political-nationalism which sees religion as a lively ally.

Communism, of course, is the other big and living fact which Christianity has to face in Asia. It is important however to distinguish between the social revolution, which Christianity welcomes and has indeed, by its teachings, helped to foster, and the Marxist doctrines which are penetrating to the people at the same time. The new deal in land ownership, the removal of the dead hand of traditional overlordship, and the arrival of new men in government are signs of democracy in Asia which go along with the Christian view of life. But Marxism only renews the old tyrannies in a new form, and while the prospects of the Christian Church may not be rosy in the Asian Communist lands, it is a hopeful fact that there is a living Christianity there aware of what tyranny is, however disguised.

There are three prongs to the Communist strategy in Asia. First comes the effective control of China, then open Communist penetration as in Burma and Malaya, and secret infiltration almost everywhere else. The Christian Church has a great opportunity in India and Japan to preach a gospel which is not simply anti-communist but which is a positive word about poverty, subsistence living and harsh "landlordism". There is still time for the creation of a social democracy such as, in its best moments, Christianity has helped inspire in other parts of the world. It is encouraging to note that the Bangkok conference urged this point :

> In those countries where the possibility exists of transforming the social order democratically so that the means employed may not destroy the ends of justice, true social democracy may be the answer to Communism. But democratic institutions and values divorced from their original Christian motive exist in a moral and religious vacuum and tend to break down. Christian truth alone can judge and save democracy from breaking down in the face of the forces of totalitarianism of the left and the right, and make it truly social.

This conference recognized the duty which rests upon the churches of East Asia to help people "to understand the true nature of the social crisis in which they are, and the positive way to accept its challenge in the historical situation in which they are placed. The churches should take the initiative in bridging the gap between the Church and organized labour in town and village; and there is a whole problem of communication in this connection, to which the churches should address themselves through evangelists who identify themselves in

costly way with the day to day struggles of labour and peasant for justice."

This is a lot to expect of small Christian congregations set in the massive social systems of the older religions, and surrounded by the swift marches of Communist doctrine. But it is no new experience for the Christian Church. If the first century A.D. is now being repeated in Asia, as many observers believe, it is also true that the spear-head of Christian witness is the same in, " worshipping congregations in which human worth and mutual responsibility are acknowledged and realized, and from which love goes out in work and service to the neighbourhood. A true Christian congregation is the most effective prophetic witness to the divine righteousness in society, and the only answer to the challenge of political ideologies that view man solely in terms of his social and political functions. The Christian congregation has a revolutionary significance in the East Asian political situation."

The foundation of this significance is religious liberty. While it may legally be secure in many of the new constitutions religious liberty will need the constant vigilance of Christian congregations, and the ordered but systematic usage of the privileges which this liberty affords. In the publication of literature, in the use of lay people, in the training of a ministry, in the alert extension of the faith and the relation of the faith to life the Christian congregation has a wide programme of advance before it in East Asia. But the State is capable of threatening any one of these avenues of work by administrative order if it wishes to act " arbitrarily in the interests of the public good." The issues of Church and State, which the west has known, may well be re-enacted in the east with a minority faith, such as Christianity, facing an omni-competent State.

One hopeful sign in the prospects for the Christian faith in Asia is the steady movement towards Christian co-operation and unity. There are National Christian Councils now in most areas drawing the scattered churches together into consultation and mutual aid. To assist this movement the International Missionary Council and the World Council of Churches have appointed Dr. Rajah Manikam of Nagpur to be a " roving ambassador " amongst the Asian churches advising them in their plans and watching the movements which may threaten their developing life. How Asia moves is vital to the future of ordered democracy. It is none the less vital for the Christian faith.

The Rev. Cecil Northcott is General Secretary to the United Council for Missionary Education which is in association with British missionary societies.)

THE WELFARE OF OLD PEOPLE

By John Moss

MUCH has been done by the State in recent years to improve the lot of old people. Old age pensions and retirement pensions under the National Insurance Scheme are costing some £273 million. Pensions are also supplemented by national assistance. It is thought that the number of pensioners may increase by 50 per cent. during the next 28 years when the cost of pensions may reach as much as £502 million. Clearly it is in the national interest, therefore, that as many elderly people as possible should remain in industry or the burden of maintaining them in increasing numbers will fall very heavily on the younger and active section of the community.

This raises the question as to whether the present retirement conditions under the National Insurance Scheme provide sufficient inducement to remain in paid employment. When entitled to a pension at the age of 65, it is permissible for a man to earn up to 20s. a week and draw his pension, or postpone drawing his pension and then claim a higher rate at the age of 70. No doubt both the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of National Insurance have a good deal of information on this matter, but in view of the strong feelings which have been expressed against the present position from various quarters, especially from the pensioners themselves, it would seem to be a matter which would merit special investigation by an independent committee. The problem is causing similar concern in the United States where it is considered probable that the number of persons over 65 will be doubled by 1980. There, however, there is no universal old age pension scheme.

The cost of old age to the State is not however confined to pensions and national assistance. Hospital provision for the aged chronic sick is also very costly and, unlike pensions, the cost of which is met largely through the insurance fund, falls almost entirely on the national exchequer. Clearly, therefore, anything that can be done to keep an old person out of hospital, or shorten his stay in hospital, is not only of a great benefit to the old people themselves but to the State as a saving of public expenditure. The surveys made before the transfer of the local authority hospitals—particularly some of the old poor law infirmaries—to the State, showed clearly that the elderly

hronic sick had been greatly neglected and that many of them were ving in bed for years when with proper diagnosis or treatment they ight have got up again. On the other hand it was then much asier for an elderly person to get into hospital than it is now.

The shortage of hospital accommodation throughout the country causing great hardship to many old people and their plight is much orse than under the poor law, when they could at least be sure of etting warmth and attention in a poor law infirmary, even although ey may not have received the special treatment which research now akes possible through the pioneer efforts of a few men and women ho are now formed into the Medical Society for the Care of the lderly. It is recognized that much can be done through geriatrics o get elderly people out of hospital, but the problem often arises as o where they should go. If possible they should return to their own omes or to their relatives, otherwise they should go to comfortable ommunal homes, provided either by a local authority or by a oluntary organization. Here, however there are serious difficulties ecause of the divided responsibility of the hospital authority and the ocal authority. It is sometimes difficult to decide whether a person ho is in a voluntary home is the responsibility of the hospital uthority, as requiring nursing care, or of the local authority as merely equiring " care and attention ", to use the words of the National ssistance Act. In the same voluntary home there may be some ersons who, in law, are the responsibility of the one authority and ome who are the responsibility of the other. A person who is being aintained in a voluntary home at the cost of a local authority may ecome bedridden when the hospital authority should pay for his aintenance or obtain his admission to a hospital. Some cases have risen however in which it is agreed that the hospital authority should e responsible but, within its available budget, there is no money to ay for the person's maintenance so he is merely put on a waiting list, ith little or no prospect of obtaining a hospital bed. A voluntary rganization cannot keep a person for nothing—and very few of the sidents have sufficient resources to pay for themselves—so unless e local authority continues to pay, which strictly it should not do nder the law, the poor unfortunate person concerned could be put ut in the street. Of course this would not happen as the local uthority would pay. Similarly there is often a wrangle " over odies " when an old person living alone clearly requires some form residential care or hospital treatment. The local authority has no ower or resources to deal with a person requiring nursing and edical care. In such a case therefore the local authority must fuse admission to an old people's home or institution. There is ten no hospital bed available so the old person may be left to die one with such help as can be given through the local health services

and by kindly voluntary visitors. It has been urged by the National Old People's Welfare Committee that this blot on the otherwise excellent social services of this country should be removed.

The organizers of the King Edward's Hospital Fund have allocated funds for the establishment of "half-way" hostels for chronic patients who can be transferred from hospital, provided the maintenance costs are borne by the hospital authority and the local authority, or by one of them. The National Corporation for the Care of Old People is similarly prepared to experiment in the provision of such a Home. It is a sad comment on the present administration of the health and welfare services that up to the present it has not been possible to arrange for the two types of authority to share the maintenance cost, even although in the same Home there are clearly some persons the cost of whose maintenance should be borne by one authority and some by the other. Unless these administrative difficulties can be cleared up, the establishment of further Homes of this kind will be impracticable, resulting in many hospital beds being unnecessarily occupied because there is nowhere for the patients to go when they are ready for discharge, with the further result that many people who are in dire need of hospital treatment will be unable to get admission to hospital. Surely a solution of these difficulties could be found if there were a little give and take. Old people should not be allowed to suffer because of administrative difficulties.

How then can an old person be helped to remain at home as long as possible ? How can he be helped to return home from hospital or after a stay in a rest Home ? Although maintenance in such a Home is far less costly than in a hospital, even this is more expensive than providing domiciliary services to enable elderly people to remain in their own homes.

Those who live their ordinary lives in the community are either living on their own or with relatives. They may therefore need different kinds of help. The local authority can provide domestic help as a part of their service under the National Health Service Act. Many of them are doing so to a very considerable extent. In some parts of the country about half the cost of this service is in providing help for elderly people. But each domestic help can only spend a short time with one person and is seldom available in the evenings or at week-ends. This is where voluntary visitors can be of great assistance in supplementing the official services.

It may be asked how should the visitor be selected ? This is one of the voluntary activities organized through the instrumentality of local old people's welfare committees, of which there are some 500 in different parts of the country. These committees owe their origin to the National Old People's Welfare Committee on which is represented 47 voluntary organizations interested in various aspects of the

care of the aged, together with representatives of the local authority associations and observers from Government Departments. The Ministry of Health has consistently encouraged the setting up of these committees. If any reader would like to do something for the elderly such as by visiting some of them in their own homes, he (and particularly she) cannot do better than get in touch with the nearest local old people's welfare committee. The Ministry of Health pointed out in a circular which was issued to all local authorities some months ago that this is a service which can best be provided by voluntary workers actuated by a spirit of good neighbourliness. For instance, it is most useful to old people in a particular area if there is a scheme, organized by a local old people's welfare committee, for helping them with their shopping, in obtaining magazines and books from the local library, with letter writing, with mending, and generally in solving minor domestic difficulties. Home visiting of this kind has been found to be of particular value for it can mitigate the sense of isolation and loneliness often experienced by old people.

Visiting often discloses many varying needs. For example, an aged musician was found to be without a wireless set. This was installed and it meant much more to him than to most people. Sometimes however the task of the visitor is by no means so easy. She may perhaps find an old lady badly in need of medical attention but afraid to go to a doctor. The visitor will then have to exercise great tact and patience in order to get the old lady to accept the fact that unless she gets medical attention she may become " house-bound ", or perhaps a permanent hospital case ; the person visited may be ultra-independent and have to be persuaded to accept a local authority service—or a State service—to which she is entitled ; the person visited may require chiropody but she may not be able to get to hospital and cannot afford to pay the ordinary fee for visiting a chiropodist. The visitor may then be able to take her by car to a clinic or, as in some areas, to an old people's club where a chiropodist gives treatment at reduced charges. The personality of the visitor is the keynote of success. Tolerance and willingness to spend time listening to the same story over and over again are essential. A real liking for old people as individuals and of their peculiarities is very important. It is by no means every willing and sympathetic person who can become a good visitor. It is however a task which is well worth while. The National Old People's Welfare Committee is so impressed with the importance of visiting being undertaken on the right lines that it has prepared a leaflet which gives useful advice on the matter.

This is one way of relieving loneliness, but much can be done for old people in their own homes through old people's clubs of which there are now about 2,500 in England and Wales. Most of these clubs

meet only once a week, such as the Darby and Joan clubs organized by the W.V.S., but there is an increasing number of clubs which meet every day or several days during the week, both for men and women. Such a club is not only a great boon to old people living alone, but is also useful to provide a temporary haven for those who are living with their families and who may well be a nuisance if they have nowhere to go sometimes.

The movement for the provision of clubs is spreading widely in North America, as well as in this country. When I was in Canada I found that it was beginning to be realized that the provision of such clubs is invaluable in combating that feeling of loneliness which I was rather surprised to hear prevailed just as much there, sometimes in comparatively small towns, as in this country. In some respects greater strides have been made in this connection in the United States, particularly in New York than in this country. I visited two clubs, or day centres as they are called in New York, one in the Negro quarter where a great variety of occupations are provided for the members. They are encouraged to keep mentally alert by occupying both their hands and their minds. Senescence is apparently retarded by the activities of these recreational and social centres which replace the activities of the working day for the elderly. Records kept at the centres seem to indicate that the members (" oldsters " as they are called there) live ten years longer than most people in the same age group, and retain their mental stamina longer. Those responsible for the centres are satisfied that they are justified even from the financial point of view apart from the help and happiness they give to members. It is claimed that they lessen the need for mental hospitals as there has not been a single admission to a mental hospital from any of the centres, one of which has 600 members; they reduce the need for clinics and general hospitals and they reduce the period of illness as it arises. It is the essence of the New York scheme however that there is always a skilled social worker available to advise and encourage the old people. Small experiments with the same object in view are being tried in a few places in this country and the subject is well worth further exploration.

Local authorities can contribute towards the establishment and maintenance of these old people's clubs and many of them are doing so. Grants are also available from the National Old People's Welfare Committee for part-time clubs, through money put at their disposal by the National Corporation for the Care of Old People. For whole-time clubs, grants may be obtained direct from the Corporation. Light refreshments are provided usually at the clubs and occasionally there are facilities for providing a more substantial meal. There are arrangements however in many parts of the country—and the number is increasing—for taking hot meals to old people in their own homes

through a scheme described as " Meals on Wheels ". This is being done mainly by the members of Women's Voluntary Service and also by the British Red Cross Society and a few other voluntary organizations. Sometimes special vans are used for the purpose but these are expensive and in many cases therefore the meals are taken in private cars. This is an outstanding example of a service which can be organized on a voluntary basis but here also the local authority can contribute towards the cost of establishing and maintaining the service. Some local authorities, for instance, pay on a mileage basis for the use of private cars for the purpose.

Another activity which the National Corporation has at present in mind is the establishment of short-stay Homes to which elderly people can go for two or three weeks. Even in these days when family affection is much less evident than it used to be, there are thousands of old people still living with their grown-up sons and daughters and sometimes it is impossible for the younger people to get away for a holiday unless they can take the old person with them. It is thought therefore that it would be a great boon if in every largely populated area there was a Home to which such persons can go for a short stay. The Staffordshire County Council has such a Home for the county, and the National Corporation is hoping to get the co-operation of a group of local authorities in the North of England with a view to setting up one to serve a wide area.

If old people are to be encouraged in increasing numbers to remain in their own homes, they must be provided with adequate housing. It is better that an old person should be enabled to live even in a bed-sitting room than communally in an old people's Home or hostel, but old people are entitled to much better accommodation than many of them now have. Most local authorities are making special provision in their housing schemes for small houses or flats for old people. It is sometimes argued that it is wrong to provide this type of accommodation when there are so many younger people with families who are inadequately housed. The building of small units for the elderly may however result in their moving from larger houses which can then be made available for families. But sometimes an old person is reluctant to move even to a modern dwelling. This is where the help of a sympathetic visitor may be most helpful. Apart from the provision of ordinary houses for old persons, as a part of the general community, a housing authority also has power to provide a hostel for old people where they can have their own bedroom furniture. These are as distinct from the Homes provided by local authorities under the National Assistance Act for " persons requiring care and attention ". There are many elderly people in Homes, particularly those belonging to some voluntary organizations, who could live independent lives

in their own homes if suitable houses were available or in a hostel provided on a housing estate by a local authority.

It is not possible to deal more than briefly here with the many forms of help which can be provided for old people and I have concentrated therefore on the need for making it practicable for as many as possible to remain in their own homes. This does not mean that there is also no scope for voluntary effort in connection with the residential care of old people. Voluntary organizations were the pioneers in the establishment of small old people's Homes which local authorities are now being encouraged to provide under the National Assistance Act. Even in these Homes however, whether run by voluntary organizations or local authorities, there are many opportunities for voluntary help, such as in visiting, taking old people out for car rides and providing entertainment.

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PRIMARY MATTER

JOSHUA C. GREGORY

ACCORDING to Thales, in the sixth century B.C., a sea-nymph, the rock on which she sits, the sea-weed tangling round her feet, and the shell she holds to her ear would be transmuted ater ; according to Professor Hoyle, in 1950, they would be trans-uted hydrogen. Though more than two and a half millennia parate the two cosmologists, they agree on one point : all things are rived from one primary matter. The passage of time has divided em on a second point : they presume different mother-stuffs.

In *The Compleat Angler* of 1653-1676, Piscator, deferring to *enesis*, calls water " the eldest daughter of the creation, the element on which the Spirit of God did first move." Some " profess to lieve," Piscator adds, " that all bodies are made of water " and may be reduced back again " to it. Since a cabbage is about 5 per cent. water, and the human body itself contains over 70 per nt. there is some truth in this notion, though not enough to confirm completely. The " water " in this vogue prompted by *Genesis* is parently *actual water* : its devotees assume, Piscator records, that a willow, or any other " speedy growing plant " grows, it increases m " water of rain, or from dew." Thales, who did not defer to *enesis*, probably did not mean by " water " the actual *aqua* of the ook or well. Whatever he did mean, a moist-cold element alized from actual water, for example, roughly corresponding to the ter Aristotelian elementary " water ", he presumed a primary atter, a mother-stuff of all things.

The " air " of Anaximenes, later on in the century of Thales, is rhaps a closer analogue of Professor Hoyle's hydrogen, than the water " of Thales. This air rarefies into " fire ", and condenses to winds. By successive steps, also, it condenses into clouds, ter, earth, and then completely into stones. Even if this " air " more appropriately called " mist " (or moisture) as Farrington ms, it is more vaporous than water, and thus more like gaseous drogen. The gaseous analogy is more complete in Diogenes of pollonia, somewhat later on, since for him actual *air* is the primary bstance.

The modern hydrogen, however, though gaseous like the air of ogenes, has one great difference from it. The intelligent potter

moulds the passive clay. The " water " of Thales probably transmutes itself, intelligently directing its own processes. It is, so to speak, potter and clay in one, or, otherwise expressed, it is its own water-smith. Anaximenes probably thought that the air is intelligent. Diogenes certainly did, and he even calls it a god, as, according to Cicero, Anaximenes also calls it, though Cicero may err. An intelligently directive primary substance, in any case, seemed reasonable enough to these early thinkers. An intelligent hydrogen, producing the cosmos, including men, by intelligently directing its own cosmical manoeuvres, would be anomalous in a modern cosmology.

" How fond she is of finding morals in things ! " thought Alice as the Duchess talked. The historian notes how fond cosmologists are of finding one primary matter in very many diverse things. The Duchess certainly imposed morals very freely on anything said. Thales seems to us to have imposed " water " very peremptorily on things as their ultimately constituent mother-stuff. Professor Hoyle seems to us to deduce reasonably from data rather than to impose when he assigns the rôle to hydrogen. Thales, however, had his reasons, and some seventeenth-century experimenters had their reasons, as Piscator records, for presuming the veritable transmutation of water into the increasing substance of growing plants. Water *seems* to change into something stony when the petrifying springs coats immersed objects with hard coverings. Protracted cold was suspected, from time to time, of freezing water into permanently solid rock crystal. During the seventeenth century, and on into the eighteenth, vigorous prolonged boiling was often presumed to convert water partly into powdery earth. Dr. Joseph Priestley had received a packet of powder from a Mr. Godfrey whose grandfather had worked with Boyle in the seventeenth century. In 1775 Priestley still believed that grandfather Godfrey had converted water, " weight for weight ", into the carefully hoarded " earth ". Priestley had been convinced by Lavoisier when, in 1794, he admitted to his Hackney students that the reputed transmutation of water into earth, by prolonged agitative boiling, was probably illusory.

Water, actual or as Thales conceived it, was not a favoured mother-stuff in Priestley's day, but reasons could be given, from Thales onwards, for the doctrine. Still, Thales and some of his immediate successors seem to have tried to impose a mother-stuff on substances. The many primary matters presumed from Thales to Hoyle intimate a mental satisfaction in recognizing a single original material embodied in the rich variety of things. The retrospective historian, further on, may even detect in Hoyle the attempt to impose hydrogen upon suns, planets, and men as their mother-stuff, just as Thales seems to us to have imposed " water ". However this may be, the

uman mind seems to be bent on finding a One in the Many, to catch t any excuse for presuming it, to find satisfaction in any apparent iscovery of it, and, in particular, to gratify its desires by searching ut the mother-stuff or fundamental matter or underlying substratum f all material things.

There must be a common matter, Aristotle affirms in the fourth entury B.C., especially since many diverse bodies pass into one nother. Some, he notes, presume the matter underlying perceptible odies to be air or fire, and there are other notions. The predisposi-on to unify, the tendency and desire to find one ultimate matter in iverse things, is involving the determined unifiers in interpretative roubles. It is at any rate wrong, Aristotle considers, to identify he primary matter with an extra single matter, itself corporeal and eparable. This excludes the air, which had been favoured, and the ydrogen yet to be favoured in the far future for either is a single orporeal being, distinct from other bodies.

Analogy is the pathway of the mind, and mental routes constantly art from fundamental analogies. Timaeus, in Plato's dialogue, or onologue, uses the analogy of a goldsmith who, for instance, fash-ns gold into a spoon, refashions this into a cup, and then again shions this, it may be, into a dish. The gold represents the primary atter ; the golden articles, or forms, represent the various material bjects. The analogy is seductive, but it obviously needs much nalogical extension, for the differently shaped spoon, cup, and dish adequately correspond to, say, a stone, a pool, and a stick, for these ave different qualities, and the primary matter is not perceptible in em, as the gold is in the spoon, cup, and dish. Plato, and Aristotle fter him, are involved in an interpretative route from the analogy of olden things. Aristotle resolves the gold, the palpable substratum, to an equivalent without quality or form of its own, something om which corporeal substances can come into existence with their terminate characters. An acorn is intelligibly a potential oak hich, equally intelligibly, is a realized or actualized acorn. Aristotle plies this potential-actual relation to the primary matter and rceptible bodies. The analogy, however, requires interpretative tension. The acorn grows into an oak, but not into any other tree. he primary matter has a catholic potentiality, for, out of it, all dies originate. The acorn is as real an existent as the oak, but the imary matter does not exist apart from its actualizations in bodies their constituent elements.

This " single substratum ", as Aristotle sometimes calls it, must ist, but it exists as a bare or pure potentiality, without the specific tentiality or separate existence of the acorn. Soil, moisture, and rmth foster the growth of the acorn ; the " forms " actualize the tentialities of the primary matter. The comparison is inadequate,

but helps an understanding of how the primary matter is conceived in the Aristotelian tradition.

In the seventeenth century it seems probable to the Hon. Robert Boyle that the universal or catholic matter had been divided into a great store of *Minima* or *Prima Naturalia*. Motion had been the dividing knife, and the hand of God the wielder, Boyle also thinks—in Cartesian vein. These *Prima Naturalia*, minute particles, are in principle divisible, though nature very seldom does divide them because they are so small and so solid. This primary matter, packed into particles, has replaced the purely potential *materia prima* of the Aristotelian tradition. The *Prima Naturalia*, Boyle suggests, may cluster into corpuscles, and different elements, such as water or earth may consist of different corpuscles, differently aggregated. Thus different substances, on this view, are ultimately differently constructed out of *Prima Naturalia*. Hydrogen is not yet identified, and the electron is still well in the future, but expository notions are beginning to make the future hydrogen mother-stuff an acceptable notion. A primary matter metaphysically conceived as Aristotle conceived it would rule out hydrogen, as Aristotle himself ruled out air.

Hydrogen makes its real *début* as candidate for the high office of primary matter in 1815-1816, though Prout, sponsoring the candidate, does call the idea " not altogether new ". Prout derives the name " protyl " for hydrogen from the Greek to indicate that the primary matter of the ancients is realized in the gas. The new protyl however, in spite of its name, resembles the catholic matter of Boyle or its division into *Minima Naturalia*, more than the *prima materia* of Aristotle. In essence, according to Prout's hypothesis, as it settled into its long and much discussed candidature, all elements, and thus all compounds composed of them, consist of hydrogen particles or atoms. Aristotle only knew the atoms of Leucippus and Democritus and heartily condemned them. Hydrogen claimed to be protyl, the primary matter, because it has the lowest atomic weight of any element. Its claim would be strong if all other atomic weights were simple multiples of its own. Experiment and discussion raged round this until the new concepts of the twentieth century re-assessed the rôle of hydrogen in the constitution of substances.

In 1929 Sir Arthur Eddington contemplates a first cosmic moment a " primeval chaos ". " Tiny electric particles ", some positive, some negative, scattered thinly through the vast void, " wander aimlessly in solitude." Then, after casual meetings, and through millions of years, the universe, as known to-day, developed, after many cosmical manoeuvres, from many encountering particles. The positive electric particles are the protons, the negative the electrons. In 1929

atoms are presumed to be composed of these particles. Every om of every element contains protons and electrons in equal mbers. All the protons are in the nucleus ; some of the electrons e also nuclear, and the rest peripheral. Since the ordinary hydrogen om has one nuclear proton and one peripheral electron, each avier atom, however complex, is, at least in a sense, a multiple drogen atom, and in this sense Prout's hypothesis is incorporated o theory.

Strictly speaking, Eddington's primary matter is not actual drogen, but the originally separated, widely diffused, particles. In ofessor Hoyle's primary matter to-day the protons and electrons are eady conjoined in hydrogen atoms. " Bless thee protyl ! bless e ! thou art translated." So the shade of Prout might exclaim, ognizing his own primary hydrogen in its new version, as Quince l recognizes Bottom.

Each proton-electron pair in the nuclei of the older atoms is now arded as a neutron—an electrically neutral particle. Since the neut- is conveniently regarded as a combination between a proton, with its t positive electrical charge, and an electron, with its unit negative trical charge, hydrogen can still be the primary matter. In vy hydrogen, in fact, a neutron is supposed to be present in each mic nucleus as well as the proton. In tritium or triton, a second ope of hydrogen, there are presumed to be two extra neutrons in h atomic nucleus. Present versions of atomic structures accom- date hydrogen quite readily as the primary matter. Thus, when great predominance of hydrogen in the sun, for example, and other onomical data suggest a hydrogenous mother-stuff, all data and uctions fit nicely into the supposition.

he new hydrogen may be suspected of deserving the name otyl " more than Prout's hydrogen. When is a particle not a icle ? When it is an electron, or any other modern " particle ". old pellet or atom was a solid massy particle that, when it moved, kinetic energy. The notion of " energy " is ultimately derived n the efficacious kinetic impact, of, say, the hit of the hammer on a , or a stone smashing a glass pane. Even now such efficacious tic impacts finally guarantee the presence of energy. The lurk nergy in the bomb is finally guaranteed when, on explosion, it ifests in earth or stones hurled by the blast. This " energy ", ever, fundamentally the bump of a moving massy body, or particle, largely usurped the catholic matter of Boyle. The modern rticle ", such as an electron, is not a massy bit of matter with gy, but is energy with mass, and the ordinary physical object, as a golf ball, is a concentration of such energy.

the electrons and protons of hydrogen are ultimately forms of

energy, then energy itself seems to be the real modern equivalent the Aristotelian primary matter. Though opinions do recur, Aristotle himself noted, they do not usually repeat exactly. Ener has mass ; the *prima materia* had no properties. Energy has forms, in the photon, for example, or in heat, but these do not repe the Aristotelian " forms ". The " water " of Thales, however, t air of Diogenes, the Aristotelian primary matter, the catholic matt of Boyle, the hydrogen of Prout, hydrogen as conceived to-day, a energy effectively sample a persistent tradition. The human mir intent on a One in the Many, has always imposed a primary matter things. Each imposition has seemed to be reasonably deduced fro the data and concepts of the moment. Hydrogen itself, or energ may seem, at the moment, to be reasonably assured. A futu historical retrospect may regard it as much an imposed prima matter as the " water " of Thales now seems to us. This seer unlikely at the moment, but many vogues have come and gone in t history of the primary matter. Most vogues have their day, and t may be one of them.

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THE STARRY NIGHT

By Wilfrid Gibson

This starry night—as with unerring skill
The older mates and young Fred hew
The bung of fireclay, plugging the brickwall
Of the blastfurnace, and so drive and thrust
The chisel-bar, sledgehammered through
The opened gap once more,
And then adjust
The skimmer carefully, to separate
The slag and iron of the smelted ore,
About to spill
From notch and taphole in a scorching spate,
Whitehot, with spirting sparks—Fred and each mate

Now shift clear of the scalding stream
Of liquid iron through the frosty air
Spouting aglow ; and, as it drains,
Fred, with dark eyes agleam
Stands in a dazzling glare
Watching the molten metal fall
And trickle down into
The sandbed channels, while his blood,
In a like fashion, through his veins
Is coursing in a flood
Of passionate desire
From his heart's fire . . .
And now, recalling how he's failed to hold
The heart of her he loves, and but too true
'Twill prove, what he last evening learned
When she in proud derision spurned
His offer, Sal will never be his wife—
As though congealed by frost, Fred's very life
Seems frigid, turning cold
As the pig-iron in its sandy mould
Which, while it flowed around
Dammed and directed by their thrusted spades,
Lost fluency, and, as its ruddy glare
Now quickly fades,
By crowbars broken into lengths, it lies
Unglowing on the darkened ground.

Yet, even as he shudders in despair,
When, glancing up, Fred's eyes,
Bewilderedly, catch sight
In the unclouded sky
Of star on star, he seems somewhat consoled
To think however dark the earth may lie,
Still in the heavens the stars
Will glitter bright—
Till suddenly the ruddy glow of Mars
Rekindles his desire ;
And Fred divines, although, seen from afar,
Merely an orb of calmly beaming light,
Yet every star
May be, like his own heart, a self-consuming fire.

A LAMPLIGHTER IN VICTORIA STREET (2)

By S. L. Bensusan

THE man with the lamp, groping slowly through the last decad of Victoria Street, pauses at a house in Arundel Street Strar and walks upstairs to be greeted cordially by one of the kinde men in the whole Street of Adventure, G. B. Burgin, author of hundred novels. He lived to a great age ; it was the Lamplighter privilege to meet him in almost the last of the later years and to fir that he carried his outstanding quality to the end. He ran the Idler Club for Jerome K. Jerome ; members met once a month to have t and a chat and decide on a symposium for the next issue of t magazine.

Looking round the room I see Barry Pain, Israel Zangwill, H. Wells, Eden Philpotts, W. L. Alden and others of less renown. few months before he passed, writing to H. G. I remarked that h Eden Philpotts and I were the only surviving members of that hap little circle. " When I'm about again," H.G. wrote, " we three mu meet." It was not to be.

Soho was a happy hunting ground ; the lamp shines on a popul restaurant, now no more. The lunch there was the best and cheape not only in Soho but in London, not only in London but in Englan Here is a typical menu : unlimited *hors d'oeuvres*, fish or omelett *entrée* (always good meat or poultry), choice of cheese, with sala rolls and butter *ad lib.* and a dish of fruit. The price of this, *incredibi dictu*, was eighteen pence; coffee threepence, and the waiter's thre pence brought the cost of a wonderful meal to two shillings. In h early hard up days the lamplighter would take that meal at 2.30 ar after theatre, opera or music hall, would go on to the Adelai Galleries in the Strand and choose their supper dish which co eighteen pence or less. At a table in the centre of the restaurant t brothers Stephen and Agostino Gatti would sit together, looking though the vast fortune they had won from their theatres ar restaurant could do nothing to assuage the native melancholy whi had chosen to mark them for her own.

William Terriss, outstanding hero of so many Adelphi melodram would come in from the theatre and sit at their table; if the brothe could raise a smile, they gave it to him. One night he was not in h usual place and as I turned to leave the restaurant for my room

wspaper boys came running down the Strand. " Orrible murder—illiam Terriss murdered—papire " they screamed. It was too true ; I remember rightly he met death at the stage door.

The lamp moves on to Oxford Street and the Princess's Theatre, d I find myself on the stage between the acts talking to the veteran enry Neville. " There's a very charming young lady making her but here " he tells me ; " you shall meet her." I follow through e maze known as " behind the scenes ". He knocks at a door, the esser opens it and : "It's all right Mr. Neville, you and your friend n come in." In his courtly fashion, and that was very courtly deed, the old actor turns to the young actress and says : " I have ought my friend to see you." And so on the threshold of her reer, I meet Ellaline Terriss.

There are more formidable encounters in store. The lamp shines an ante-room in Carmelite House where a pleasant cheerful cretary, destined to baronetcy and directorship, awaits the word to ke me to the wonderful sanctum of Alfred Harmsworth. Outnding there, are two busts of Napoleon, one in marble and one in onze. " Well, if there be any trouble while you are in Constanople or in Athens, you can send us a few wires. We should of urse send special correspondents if need be."

The rising, or risen power in Fleet Street is not only a strong man, t a confident one. Clearly he is accustomed to make swift decisions d impose them upon all who work for him. " Not theirs to reason y." At the same time he is an openhanded master and has already rted to show his generosity and kindness to those who served him he very early difficult days.

f the lamplighter could throw his gleam upon no more than a rter of the stories told by those who knew and served " The Chief" space would be exhausted, his pages crowded, the full tale left old. Triumph, triumph, and tragedy, these were the Northcliffe tion. But in the years when the lamplighter worked for him there no hint of trouble, the barometer of success was set fair.

a few weeks later from the main Post Office in the Pera district Constantinople I am able to telegraph an account of the passing the first Turkish troops down the Bosphorus, ill-equipped, nusiastic, on the way to fight the Greeks. Then I go to Greece catch typhoid fever, and am held up through painful weeks. k in London I inquire about my telegrams. " They were not ived," says the Chief, adding sarcastically, " it is easy to say they e sent." Further comment is futile ; you could not argue with r. Alfred ".

do not go near the office for a year. Then a letter arrives: " Your grams from Constantinople have reached us. They were held up he censor. Call when passing." So the lamplighter goes back

to Carmelite House to find a smile in place of a frown and receive certain commissions, including a cycling tour from Marseilles to Spezia, and a little work in Morocco after that. He has the happiest memories of Tom Marlowe who edited the *Mail*, patient, friendly, loyal and helpful.

* * * * *

The ballet took too much of the lamplighter's time. He was allowed the run of the Empire and spent many hours in the corner next to Madame Katti Lanner's raised seat in the wings. The variety stars were among his friends ; had he not been an abstainer these friendships would have been more enduring. He could not emulate the example of Dundas Slater the acting manager. Dozens of invitations to drink came to him night after night ; he accepted one and all. The ladies of the bars gave him his drink from one of his own special bottles—they held water, plain or coloured.

The lamplighter remembers an agitated moment in Stageland. He had an attractive *boutonniére* in his coat, and several ladies of the ballet wanted it. So he held it up, and in the scramble his coat sleeve harboured some patches of powder. Before he had noticed the smears, the chairman of the directors came to the stage, saw the powder, and was evidently amused. "What is this I see?" he remarked ; " I am shocked." " You have no occasion for shock, sir," I assure him. " What you see is merely a little of the white flour of a blameless life." " I must take your word for it," he says graciously.

Before the lamplighter leaves the great house in Leicester Square that for hundreds was a club as well as a music hall, three figures hold his light. The first is grave, bearded and severe, sitting in solitary state in Box 1, the box to which his younger brother Alfred so frequently resorted. He is not looking at the stage but at the tapes giving the election results, tapes ever renewed by gorgeous commissionaires. He is Lord Rothschild.

The next figure has nothing in common save that he too belongs to the Chosen People and is a millionaire. He wears pince-nez, is fair man, very excitable. He has just joined a group that includes the lamplighter. " Come along boys," he says heartily. " Champagne ! I'm in the chair." The lamplighter slips away, for he has no mind to join in a drinking party, and half an hour later a South African friend who was of the company comes up in high glee. " It wasn't fizz, it was just whiskies," he says laughing. " How was that ? " " I've met Barney times before," he replies, " so when we got to the Moorish Bar, I said: " Barney, turn out your pockets and make sure you haven't left your money behind." " Nonsense " says Barney, and puts his hands in his pockets and says : " You're right.

nust have forgotten my wad." "That saves us," I said, "let us call it whiskies and I don't mind paying." Then I turned to the boys and said : "Sorry, but Mr. Barnato has left his money in his new house." The house was the vast ornate Park Lane mansion that was redeemed from its flamboyancy later on by Sir Edward Sassoon.

The last figure that the lamplighter sees to-night is Sims Reeves, famous singer and good friend. A few weeks before, he had sent for me. "I've had the offer of an engagement at the Empire," he explains. "It's a good offer and I'd like to accept, but I don't know the house and you do. What do you advise ?" "Take it," I urged, "sing to piano, not to the orchestra. I'm sure you'll get a good reception. I'll help all I can." Thereafter I call at several newspaper offices and persuade one or two friendly editors to look in and others to give the veteran a special welcome. Down to a year ago I kept the gold cigarette case he gave me when the engagement came to a highly successful end ; then I passed it to a friend of the next generation.

The lamp throws a final gleam on the figure of the great singer, in a small suburban sitting room that the piano dwarfs. "You have done a lot for me," he says dolefully, "and I can make no return." "You are mistaken," I assure him. "I've done nothing worth remembering, and you can do something I will never forget. Go to the piano and sing 'Come into the garden Maud', with me for your audience." "My voice belongs to the past," he says with quiet dignity. "There is in it what time can't take away," I assure him, and persuaded, he sits down to the piano. "It's for the last time," he tells me.

* * * * *

The lamp shines for a moment on the rather unattractive figure of a gentleman who has been looking on the wine when it was red or the whisky when it was yellow. "What," he says reproachfully, never been to my club ? It is the best in town. Take this card, I'll put you up for membership tomorrow." I offer reluctant thanks, for his is a night club. There were several in the West End ; Dolaros, The Eldorado, The Alsatians were the best known. I had visited several without being amused.

I received my card and told an editor. "I've never been to one of those places," he said. "I'd like to see inside." "Sup with me," I suggested, "and we will go there late." So we do, and he has a great knock for on approaching the bar he sees his proprietor. He does not stay on the order of his going.

I felt no inclination to visit the club again; it appeared to be run for young men from the provinces who thought they were seeing life, and for ladies who had forsaken the straight and narrow way. One day

a police inspector whom I knew fairly well, stopped me in Piccadilly. " I see you are a member of the ——," he said ; " do you go often ? " " I've been twice in all " I told him. " Well don't go in the next month," he warns kindly. A fortnight later the club was raided. I have forgotten its offence and the penalty but remember that the place did not remain open for long. Who were the mourners ? The sons of provincial manufacturers so far as I could learn. To pay extravagant prices for food and drink and to dance with pretty prostitutes was to live, or so they thought.

When the lamplighter entered Bohemia his tastes were varied. To listen to Sir George Grove talking about Beethoven, to see Letty Lind dance (his friend Adeline Genée had not then come from Denmark), and to hear Ellen Terry talking, were among life's greatest pleasures. It was his privilege in the latter days to welcome Ellen Terry to his own house in the country, and to hear the most musical voice that ever rang through a theatre talk of the old Lyceum nights. No, he has not forgotten the divine Sarah, and he was in the theatre when Elinora Duse made her London *début*, but very confidentially he ranks Ellen Terry *prima inter pares*.

She talked about Irving. " Henry was very nervous," she told me. " He would stand in the wings waiting to come on, worrying all the time. He knew his trouble but I cured it. ' Henry,' I told him, ' you must take my advice. Stay in your room till the call boy knocks and then go straight on the stage.' He didn't like the idea ; he resisted, but I persisted ; in the end I won. So he lost the nightly strain."

Irving, Ellen Terry, Beerbohm Tree, Charles Wyndham, John Hare, all held in the memory of my generation, are names and nothing more to those that succeed. Why did not time hasten the coming of gramophone records, so that at least the most exquisite voice of my generation might have been preserved for posterity ?

(*Mr. Bensusan's previous article*, " *A Lamplighter in Victoria Street* ", *was published in the January* 1950 *number of* THE FORTNIGHTLY.)

WATCHING STAGS

By Richard Perry

AT the beginning of September nearly all the red deer were still to be seen at their summer pastures on the high tops of the Cairngorms and Grampians. At the end of the month they ere still feeding in big herds, the stags had not come down to the lens, and no roaring was to be heard from them.

On October 2, however, I was high up a stalker's path, hewn out f the craggy sidings and cliff-face, in the Forest of Gaick. It was a ue Highland day. A gale of rain, first from cloud-mists, but ubsequently crescendo-ing to lashing torrents, was driving horizontally nd at times upwards from the horizontal across the sidings. The ouds fringing the high tops gradually entombed the hills themselves. ngulfed in the mists there were moments when I might have imagined yself on the Lundy sidings in an Atlantic fog, for from all around me ut of the mists sounded the " conched " moaning of grey seals and e deep bass, resonant blowing of their angry roaring. It had not en impressed upon me before how close was the resemblance tween the roaring of the red stag and the grey seal. All along the dings were herds of deer, numbering perhaps three hundred in all, ten or twelve groups. The two largest comprised some 60 hinds d followers apiece, each accompanied by two or three big stags, whom eight or nine could be made out. And as the groups hinds moved away from me up the steep sidings of the sharp rving summits, a wide-antlered stag would appear out of the mists the crest of a hill and advancing to its extreme end, raise his head d moan across the 1,000- or 1,500-foot drop to another stag on the mmit edge of the next great hill. Their roaring was the only sound the forest, save for the wind and the rain and falling waters, for of ds there was only an eagle sliding across the gale.

But it was on two summer-like mid-October days that I enjoyed e best days of my life with the red deer, with a minimum of fifteen gs under observation on the sidings and hill-tops at one time, and ther five roaring from ravines and crags hidden from me. Others ay have missed, for though every hill-crest has its stag or three or r stags standing to roar or charging down the sidings, and though ring was continuous from hill and corrie, it was very nearly ossible to pick up those stags and hinds on the brown and dull-

green sidings with the naked eye, and often only after prolonged scrutiny with the binoculars, assisted by their roaring. Even so I could not always bring my binoculars back on to a herd, after lowering them, without two or three attempts. Moreover, with such a concentration of stags, their harems were exceptionally small, rendering them even more difficult to pick up, and the eight of the 15 that had harems could only share out 47 hinds among them.

No stag herded more than eight hinds, and he may not have held these for very long, for those with harems were continually subject to forays from unattached stags, who, while their more successful fellow was herding his little party of hinds and followers before him, would come charging across the steep slope of a ravine and cut out a hind and her calf from the scattered and sorely vexed and nervous harem ; perhaps only to retreat across the ravine again, when the owner charges down upon him ; perhaps to make a successful rape, running the hind and calf before him across the siding, with their lord and master in hot pursuit, until the gap between him and the remaining members of his harem has grown too wide and he stops, cuts his loss, and gallops back to them, hearing the roar of another wanderer running down from the tops with designs upon them.

On the other hand, in the middle of all this turmoil of sound and fury, a small red stag sits calmly well down on the sidings taking not the slightest notice of external events, with his six or seven hinds and followers feeding quietly around him. On the opposite hill another fine red-coated stag is feeding with four hinds and a calf. A little above him a small stag, also red-coated, is sitting peacefully. So long as the latter remains couched, the big red-coat ignores him But when he gets up and, by his posture, roars a little, the big fellow walks up the hill towards him, roaring defiance ; whereupon the other retreats leisurely up the hill and on to its crest. There, he pricks up his ears, evidently keenly interested in the activities of another stag walking along the skyline of the next hill to the south where other stags are roaring, and disappears over the top in their direction. Two or three hundred yards along the siding from the big red stag is another stag with seven hinds and four calves. These two roar at each other incessantly, continually advancing towards and retreating from a hind and her calf who are feeding in a " no-stag's land " midway between the two harems. But after advancing a few score yards from either harem, neither stag is bold enough to adventure closer to the prize, but stands roaring defiantly ; or one turns and retreats slowly while the other continues to roar ; despite the fact that the red-coat is extremely jealous and spends some minutes tearing up the heather with his antlers. These red-coated stags were very distinct from most of their light or dark-dun fellows, who had been wallowing in the peat-hags to cool their lust, just as the rich

red-brown yeld hinds stood out in marked contrast to the dark-brown and dirty-yellow milk-hinds.

Perhaps, however, the individual most characteristic of a stag in rut was a good eight or ten-pointer, with six hinds and a couple of followers, who has passed the greater part of his time standing out on one or another of the prominent crags or cairns half-way up the east sidings, observing and roaring defiantly to other stags at all points of the compass—his magnificent flat-curving span of antlers silhouetted against the sky behind the crag. (His noble type of head, the antler branching almost horizontally for the greater part of its span on either side before the ultimate curve out, up, and back is not uncommon in the forests of the Cairngorms and Grampians, and is, to my eye, the supreme head in its majestic span and massive proportions.) From time to time he would descend from his look-out to graze very briefly and, intermittently, to chivvy a hind, one of whom took his place as sentinel on the crag on one occasion when he had gone down on its far side to roar up the glen.

I distinguished three kinds of roar. That most often heard, associated with the typical open-mouthed posture of head lifted slightly from the horizontal and antlers laid back to the spine, was a bass calf-like lowing (enormously amplified), expiring in a coughing grunt, and succeeded by two or more lesser lows or grunts ; but almost as often heard was a monosyllabic and rapidly reiterated woody *ugh-ugh-ugh-ugh-ugh*, peculiar, I think, to the running stag ; and finally an especially menacing roar, not unlike the caterwauling of one of the great cats, probably the utterance of a stag at the peak of his rut. Seldom, I reflected, had I enjoyed a more interesting or more profitable day as a naturalist.

Returning to the forest on the 14th was even more exhilarating, with a hot summer's sun shining from an hour after sunrise until sunset. By noon I had climbed the stalker's path that zig-zagged 1,150 feet up the hill looming above the lodge on the west side of the glen, and was resting on its summit, refreshed by a light north-westerly air as cool and clean as spring-water, and lulled by the distant roar and fall of water, modulated by the breeze and the intermittent lowing and wailing of stags.

On breasting the summit I had found an ivory-tinted, beige-maned stag of seven points, with half-a-dozen grey-necked hinds, couched in the sun on the plateau-top, on its bare "sward" of dwarf heather (still a fresh green at this height pleasantly tinted with reddish-brown), ash-white antlered reindeer-moss, drab golden-moss, and the yellowing alpine lady's mantle, interspersed with bare patches of white granite grit. There were at least 15 stags, half of them wanderers, on these western tops. Of those with harems the biggest was one of 19 hinds and half-a-dozen followers, and the next biggest

one of 17 hinds and a few followers. Two other stags had 20 hinds and followers apiece, a fifth stag eight hinds, and a sixth four. On the opposite eastern plateau I could just make out at least nine stag-hind groups, and many sheep ; but roaring from that side was nothing like so intensive as it had been on the 12th. (Five stags had been shot during the past three days, all seven-pointers averaging 15 stone.)

When I had rested I made my way over the summit-flat to the higher hinterland—a plateau of heather moors, bogs, and peat-hags, with vivid dark green patches of star-moss and crowberry. There, on the 2,894-foot skyline, where a few ptarmigan and dotterel breed or have bred, I perceived a new and thrilling sight—six stags milling around in a whirling vortex of 30 or 40 hinds and followers. It was now the height of the rutting season ; roaring was incessant ; rounding up the hinds never ceased for a minute ; the chasing of one stag by another, and the cutting-out of hinds from the herd, were repeated a hundred times, and stag repassed stag, almost brushing antlers. Here, before my charmed eye was being enacted the complete process of a stag retaining, and of other stags seeking, a harem. Yet there was no fighting—not even a blow, for whenever one stag ran at another the latter ran away. Stags, of course, do fight during the rutting season, sometimes to the death, though this outcome is probably always the result of accident—the interlocking of antlers from which neither contender can release himself, or by a chance blow in some vital spot—but I doubt whether two stags ever voluntarily fought to the death. No, as soon as one contender feels himself to be weaker, his entire energy is then turned to breaking off the engagement and beating a retreat. Far from it being the stags that were fighting in this *mêlée*, it was the hinds who on a number of occasions reared up on their hind-legs to box with their fore-feet. They were kept in a continual state of nervous irritation by the incessant herding and roaring of the stags, and both hinds and calves showed every sign of alarm when stags ran at them, shooting off at a tangent from the would-be ravisher.

This whirlpool of turmoil attracted the attention of all wandering stags within range of the roaring—and also of hinds—and after half-an-hour or so I observed that there were now nine stags operating, and their milling round and round and backwards and forwards through the herd continued for a further half-hour. How long this had been going on before my arrival cannot be known, but at the end of this hour, seven of the nine stags (two of whom were one-antlered) began to retire to the outside of the vortex, not from any violently aggressive act on the part of an eighth big stag ; but because they were too physically exhausted to compete with the latter any longer in his ceaseless rounding-up of the hinds, too exhausted by his and their

nter-chasing. Two sat down in the heather, spent, while the remaining five grazed, or made a pretence of grazing, frequently raising their heads to stare at the hinds, still milling around under the pressure of that indefatigable roaring eighth stag, and even advancing a few paces towards him. From time to time a hind breaks away from the herd, but the roarer, though running after her, does not go far, contenting himself with roaring at the outlying stags, before hastening back to the herd again. And now, even when one of the latter gets up to meet the errant hind, he seems no longer to be interested in acquiring her as a prize, but feeds quietly beside her. Gradually all seven feed further away from the herd or make off in search of more easily acquired hinds, and the roarer is left in possession of his large harem, without, so far as I can make out, having lost a single hind permanently—a remarkable achievement !

He is left in sole possession : but there is that ninth stag who has thus far, not been mentioned. This fellow, as big as the roarer, had taken no part in the *mêlée*, and had done nothing except stand just without the vortex roaring—at me ?—and was now couched peacefully in the heather. I concluded that, to speak anthropomorphically, he felt that the roarer was too big to engage, and that the roarer felt, likewise, that it might be wise to ignore his immediate presence and not invite trouble. More probably, perhaps, number nine had spent himself in unsuccessful attempts at cutting-out before I had come on the scene. At all events the roarer continued to ignore him, and him alone, for after a few minutes of peace, when all the hinds took the opportunity to sit down, new stags began coming up and the roarer started herding again and soon had all the hinds on their feet. Not only had the roarer not lost any of his harem, but he was actually adding to it; for every now and again a new hind would appear on the scene followed by the inevitable unattached stag, whom the roarer, going out to meet the hind, would roar at menacingly ; the wanderer therewith retreating, and the hind joining the harem.

This seemed an excellent object lesson that nature ensures the breeding of calves by the most physically sound stags, and a warning to the owners of deer-forests that a continual culling of the best heads from the forest must inevitably lead to a degeneration of the stock ; though, again, nature guards in some measure against this, for the unwanted antler-less hummel is more often than not a notably strong and successful stag. I wished that I could have obtained a closer view of the roarer, but beyond making out that he was a big stag with a fine head, I could not distinguish more precise details. There were storms and wandering stags all over this western plateau, and by the time that I had watched them and got down again into the glen it was sunset, and the sheep, which the shepherds had been gathering into

the glen during the day, were making their way up to the high tops once more.

I was up in the forest again the next day, and this time climbed up on to the eastern plateau, a very boggy place intersected by interminable and exceedingly precipitous ravines, in which a few small birches grew. But with both shepherds and stalkers out, and the deer feeding westwards into a strong north-westerly breeze, there was only one stag to be seen on these tops, and he a couple of miles away on the skyline, and very little roaring to be heard anywhere, so that I found it difficult to believe that I was in the same forest. With the stalking season getting into its swing it was evident that I had had my day, and a very good day it had been. I made a mental note that another of those things to be done in the prosperous future was the tenancy of Gaick Lodge from the middle of September to the end of October. Given a fine autumn this would prove one of the most enjoyable and profitable pieces of research a naturalist could imagine.

By the first mild days of November, when the clouds are brushing the tops, Gaick is silent. On the tops and high up the sidings I can see a few small herds of deer. One late stag, his chestnut summer coat unstained by the peat-wallow, has a harem of nine hinds and their seven calves, another has 12 hinds and followers, and a third three hinds and a calf, a staggie, and a knobber. But all are feeding quietly ; not a roar is to be heard. Most of their fellows have gone up to join the big stag companies on the high tops or to their wintering grounds in the lower corries.

I was up in the forest on December 6, after a fall of snow the previous day, and found it wintry and grimly oppressive. There were, however, four lots of deer feeding well down on the sidings, and another lot silhouetted like chamois high on the white-dusted black crags of one hill. One herd of 20 included three small stags, one of whom gave three or four staccato monosyllabic barks when I appeared on the scene. But 25 stags and 40 hinds had now been shot in the forest and all the deer were wary, making away before me high up the white sidings, where they couched in extremely conspicuous black clumps on the snow ; whereas when feeding on the blackish patches of long heather below they had been almost invisible.

From now on their locality and numbers in the forest would be dependent upon the precise severity or clemency of the winter, and the backwardness or forwardness of the spring, permitting an early or late migration to their summer pastures on the high tops in June or July ; until in the first days of September the desire comes upon the hinds to return to their winter feeding-grounds, which are also the stags' rutting grounds.

THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY

THE HISTORY OF POLAND

By K. M. Smogorzewski

In a small volume on *Poland* published in 1915, Professor W. Alison Phillips wrote : " It is significant of the general attitude of the British public that it has not been thought worth while to translate into English any of the important works in Polish and Russian, dealing with its (the Polish question's) more recent phases, which have been published and widely read in French and in German versions." Instead of translating existing works the late Professor Harold Temperley planned in 1936 a *History of Poland* in two volumes. Inspired by him, many friendly meetings of British and Polish historians were held in Warsaw and Cambridge. Among the former were Professors W. F. Reddaway, A. Bruce Boswell and William J. Rose. Among the latter : Professors Roman Dyboski, Stanislaw Estreicher, Oskar Halecki, Marceli Handelsman and Marian Kukiel. During the German occupation of Poland Estreicher and Handelsman died in concentration camps ; Dyboski did not survive to see the work published ; Oskar Halecki and Marian Kukiel are since living in exile. It should be mentioned that Professor Temperley received help and encouragement from the Polish Government and from Count Edward Raczynski their ambassador to the Court of St. James's.

As it happened that the second volume—*From Augustus II to Pilsudski* (1697-1935)—was practically ready when the 1939-1945 war started, it was published first in 1941. Now, after a nine years' interval, the first volume appears and completes the narrative *. A third and final volume which is yet to appear will contain the bibliographies. In all 21 authors contributed to the second volume (seven British and two Americans) and 23 to the first (three British, one French and one Swede). As is generally the case with all composite volumes, there is a certain amount of unavoidable overlapping and the chapters are uneven in merit and execution. Judged as a whole, however, this combined work of British and Polish scholarship deserves the highest praise : it is undoubtedly the best and the fullest account of Polish history that exists in any language except Polish, a distinction which derives a specially-enhanced importance in the light of trends now increasingly observable in Poland itself.

Choice of the best available authority for every period and every important reign not unnaturally tended to weight the volume in favour of Polish scholarship, and it is a tribute to the integrity of these contributors that they do not in the least give way to propaganda even when obliged to correct opinions and prejudices until recently firmly established in the west. When examining the history of central and eastern Europe many British and French historians took for granted the veracity of German theories on the alleged racial inferiority of the Slavs, or of Russian views on " Polish anarchy " or " fanatical jesuitry ".

Knowledge of the Polish language is indispensable to the understanding which must precede the writing of history on the principle *audiatur et altera pars*, and few British scholars can qualify in this respect. Professor Bruce Boswell is an exception ; as he commands also a pleasing style, his chapters are refreshing and illuminating and perhaps the best in the book. Among the Poles Professor Halecki, an

* *The Cambridge History of Poland : From the Origins to Sobieski* (*to* 1696). Edited by W. F. Reddaway, J. H. Penson, O. Halecki and R. Dyboski. Cambridge University Press. 42s.

undisputed authority on the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, has been responsible for an excellent chapter on Kazimierz the Great, the last of the Piast dynasty, and another on Wladyslaw Jagiello, founder of a new dynasty and builder of the Polish-Lithuanian personal union. This event heralded the coming destruction of the Teutonic Order which in the thirteenth century established itself east of the Vistula to evangelize the pagans but in fact had in view the conquest of Poland and of the Baltic nations.

Jagiello's defeat of the Teutonic Order at Grunwald in 1410 was presented by German propaganda to western courts and in Rome as a victory of the "Saracens", and Jagiello was widely advised in Europe to practise moderation. Professor Halecki explains how after his military triumph Jagiello had to win a not less important diplomatic victory at the Council of Constance where he was lucky to be represented by cultured Polish prelates and skilful jurists. Only half a century later his son Kazimierz IV completed the task his father began by re-conquering the Polish maritime province of Pomorze and stabilizing the Polish-German frontier for more than three centuries. There now followed a "golden age" of Polish civilization favoured by political power and economic prosperity.

Professor J. Pajewski's chapter on Zygmunt August, the last Jagellon, is a well-balanced appraisal of a king-statesman who in 1569 successfully completed the Polish-Lithuanian union. With the reign of Stefan Batory, soberly recorded by Professor F. Nowak, the narrative enters the period of elective kings. Poland is still a great power, Muscovy just emerges into history and Brandenburg, core of the future Prussia, is but a small weak neighbour on Poland's western frontier. Two striking events mark the seventeenth century: in 1613 Mikhail Romanov is elected Czar and the process of "gathering the Russian lands" begins; five years later Johann Sigismund, elector in Berlin, becomes also duke of Königsberg: the Hohenzollern design to unite the two territorially is already clear.

A matter of regret in this *Cambridge History* is the lack of unity in the spelling of names, and it is tiresome to discover that the great fifteenth-century jurist is Paulus Vladimiri to one contributor and Paul Wlodkowic to another. Nor is the index guiltless of some important omissions. But these imperfections, though personally irritating, are, after all, but a small blemish in so agreeably-produced a work of solid and permanent importance.

THE EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT AND INFLUENCE OF MATTHEW ARNOLD, by W. F. Connell. *Routledge and Kegan Paul.* 21*s.*

PERSONALITIES AND POWER IN ENGLISH EDUCATION, by John Leese. *E. J. Arnold & Son.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

THE STATE AND SCHOOL EDUCATION 1640-1660, by W. A. L. Vincent. *S.P.C.K.* 11*s.* 6*d.*

Matthew Arnold, H.M.I., was an educational prophet whose ability to foretell the administrative future was greater perhaps than his judgment when estimating the value of the change. Arnold was a firm believer in the need for the State to take a greater control of education; but the State for him, as for other Liberals of the time, was to be middle-class led for it was by then apparent that the aristocracy could not regain power.

One of the chief attractions of Dr. Connell's book is that it allows the reader a good deal of opportunity to appreciate the strengths and weaknesses of Arnold's opinions. Arnold was miserably afraid that one effect of industrialism would be for Britain to become a prey to "American *vulgarity*, moral, intellectual, and social," and he believed that the middle classes, completely lacking in culture, were deplorably unfitted to see the danger. "Nothing but the influence of the

State," he thought, could protect the people and he did his utmost to win the middle class to his point of view by addressing them directly.

> The middle class " want culture and dignity ; they want ideas " ; their energy and worship of liberty will not by themselves make a great nation. These attributes need to be combined with " a high reason and a fine culture ", and this combination can come about only by the elevation of the middle classes through the influence of the State.

Noble sentiments but alas less foolproof than he thought them. Many of the good things that Arnold anticipated —a Ministry of Education, State secondary as well as primary schools, and further opportunities for those capable of benefiting by them—have come to pass; yet still democracy refuses to reward its educational pioneers by capitalizing its new found advantages and creating a civilization of which it may be proud. But that takes time.

Dr. Connell, who is a lecturer in education at Melbourne University, has produced a most useful book and one, moreover, whose value will increase as more books on this period of educational history are composed. Dr. John Leese has attempted one, and very pleasantly, but its fault lies in the amount of ground covered, which is too much, and the temptation unsuccessfully resisted at times to enter deeper into a topic than the general purpose of the book warrants.

However, for those who are interested —and all should be—and yet ignorant of the influence on education of Kay-Shuttleworth, Robert Lowe, Matthew Arnold and Robert Morant there is pleasure to be gained from *Personalities and Power in English Education*. For the more knowledgeable a reading is rewarded by facts discovered by Dr. Leese about minor figures, including many inspectors far less well known than Matthew Arnold. But there is too much detail and, if one is convinced, as it is difficult not to be, that properly pruned the book would have been a good treatise on the inspectorate, too much extraneous matter.

How refreshing is Mr. Vincent's book, a well-documented survey of the State's influence on education during a period which to-day has significant points of comparison for us. One would dearly like to read Matthew Arnold's criticism of Puritan England's ideas of State interference. At least he would have valued the importance placed by Parliament on the profession of schoolmaster. Many schoolmasters were ejected from their schools for their opinions but it is plain that in many places there was little inclination to victimize the good teacher for his opinions if the clash could be avoided. Yet power was there to " eject all such scandalous Ministers and Schoolmasters, and in their places to nominate and appoint such learned, able, godly, and fit Persons, etc."

A chapter of particular interest is that on " The Long Parliament and Educational Grants ". A resolution of June 15, 1641, had ordered " That all the Lands, taken by this Bill (for the abolition of Deans, etc.) from Deans and Chapters, shall be employed to the Advancement of Learning and Piety," and this resolution was not forgotten by the Long Parliament. Mr. Vincent leaves others to draw conclusions from the facts he presents but the book splendidly serves our present need for scholarly examination of important periods in educational history.

JOHN ARMITAGE.

ENGLAND, PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE, by Douglas Jerrold. *Dent.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

The prospectus to Mr. Jerrold's book claims that it is among the most important contributions to modern political thought, which starts the reader in a somewhat critical frame of mind. It also claims for Mr. Jerrold " complete freedom from prejudice." This fortunately is quite untrue, for almost at once he is having a vicious crack at anonymous pre-historians, and flays

away throughout the book at things he doesn't like, with the most entertaining vigour. He has, indeed, a highly stimulating style, and a great freshness of outlook—or, if you agree with him, of insight. Particularly in the early chapters there is a crispness in condensation which reads almost like Wynwood Reade. "By describing the black man's gold as the white man's burden English politicians even contrived to impart a moral tone to the unravelling of the strange tangle of rascality on the Rand." That might be a quotation from a revised edition of *The Martyrdom of Man*.

But Wynwood Reade was a rationalist, and it is secular, rationalist society which Mr. Jerrold analyses and castigates. The first part of the book shows Roman and Catholic order overthrown, very much for the worse. Naturally the author is in the full flood of the reaction from the Whig historians of the nineteenth century. He is a royalist, and deplores the parliamentary cause and its connections with Geneva, which he calls "the Moscow of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." In the course of this he dismisses Cromwell as "a solitary figure of sombre genius, without cause and without effect." Another unusual assessment is that of the extreme prescience of Lord Kitchener, and a most interesting one that "Sir Edward Carson discovered, in the private army, the one unanswerable reply to Democratic majority rule." On almost every page there are opinions which one wants to dispute, and very good reading it is.

Unfortunately, the second half of the book does not quite come off. The 1914-1918 war is dealt with fairly fully, and the late one is omitted because Mr. Jerrold feels that it is far too early to attempt any summary. Yet he wades in with a powerful attack on Socialist England, in which surely the conditions and results of the war are an essential ingredient. While much that he says would be agreed by any intelligent man, the setting down of a written constitution cannot appeal to all of us as the most urgent solution of our affairs. Mr. Jerrold's particular religious convictions, too, are controversial. To argue these things, however, is not the business of a reviewer.

In a grey world Mr. Jerrold sees black and white. He writes—it is impossible to avoid the hideous word—trenchantly. He provokes thought. One can almost forgive the prospectus.

PENNETHORNE HUGHES.

CONFIDENT MORNING, by Sir Harold Butler. *Faber.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

With becoming modesty Sir Harold Butler suggests in his Foreword that only the really eminent should perpetrate memoirs in the accepted sense of the term. What he gives us is a "discursive commentary" on changes in the social and political landscape of which he, as a public servant, had personal experience. The recipe is to be recommended.

The son of an estates bursar of an Oxford college, Sir Harold journeyed on the high-level track of Eton, Balliol and All Souls, with residence abroad in Germany and France in preparation for the Diplomatic Service, his course being deflected by circumstances (no Foreign Office vacancies) into the Home Civil. Like so many others at that age he discovered in himself no particular bent, but a fervent desire to be active in public affairs. His path through the jungle of the anonymous, as HisMajesty's civil service might be called—Local Government Board, Home Office and then the 1914-1918 war equivalent of the MEW, was orthodox enough ; it was his appointment in 1917 to the newly-created Ministry of Labour which brought him into the specialized sphere of international industrial relations. To our generation, indeed, Sir Harold is identified with the I.L.O., almost as much as his predecessor in the Directorship, M. Albert Thomas, with an easy and pleasant transition, early in the 1939-1945 war, to the Wardenship of Nuffield College. A markedly interesting career was crowned by work in the

Washington Embassy, on the Information side, and since the war he has made a niche for himself as a sensible and assiduous "good European" after the manner of Mr. Churchill. All this major portion of his life, however, lies outside the present volume: we have to be content with a tasty if not particularly substantial *hors d'oeuvre*.

Of personal, autobiographical, incident there is here, in fact, strangely little; the only episodes recorded with any circumstantial detail are the author's participation, as a Home Office "expert", in the first International Conference on Aerial Navigation, which took place in Paris in May 1910, and the vicissitudes in Paris and Washington of the infant I.L.O. In regard to the former it is chastening to observe that the British delegation was already then, to some extent, odd man out, as so often today (though not necessarily wrong!). As against the doctrine that the air should be free for all, which was the common assumption of the progressives and the jurists, with the notable exception of Professor Westlake, the U.K. delegation stuck out for the view that every State owns the air above the land *usque caelum* and sought to adapt to aerial traffic certain well-established principles of maritime navigation. With the Foreign Offices of each State thinking in terms of a likely war this view prevailed, and Sir Harold is no doubt right in observing *en passant* that the contrary view, like disarmament, belongs to the realm of Utopia. But . . . here we have a foretaste of the cleavage to-day between the British upholders of sovereignty, who are at the same time the arch-pragmatists, and the Continental ideologues.

As was only to be expected there is nothing very original or profound about these ruminations of a trained civil servant; it is a very exceptional man whose mind emerges unscathed from that treadmill. But, at any rate, Sir

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

The Great Exhibition of 1851

A Commemorative Album by C. H. Gibbs-Smith of the Victoria and Albert Museum

Nearly one hundred years ago the vast Crystal Palace was erected in Hyde Park to house the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations. The album, with its many photographs, and extracts from Queen Victoria's journal, recalls the splendour and brilliance of this historic national achievement. 6*s*. (6*s*. 5*d*.)

The Colonial Service as a Career

by Kenneth Bradley, C.M.G.

Based on the author's first-hand experience, this booklet describes the life and conditions of service enjoyed by members of H.M. Colonial Service. It gives, as well, much interesting information about the Colonies and their peoples. 2*s*. (2*s*. 2*d*.)

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York House, Kingsway, London W.C.2; 429 Oxford Street, London W.1. (Post Orders: P.O. Box 569, London S.E.1.); 13A Castle Street, Edinburgh 2; 39 King Street, Manchester 2; 2 Edmund Street Birmingham 3; 1 St. Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff; Tower Lane, Bristol 1; 80 Chichester Street, Belfast; *or through any bookseller.*

Harold is sufficiently detached (thanks to his long service abroad) to have a concern about the machinery of government in this country ; he does not just take it for granted as being beyond criticism. The British Parliament, he shows, even with the latter-day reforms to restore the hold of the House of Commons on the public purse, exercises less control over finance than the national assembly of any other prominent democratic State. And it was high time that someone should register a warning, as Sir Harold does, that the power of the executive and its independence of the legislature, " is greater than is democratically wholesome."

WILLIAM RYDAL.

NOBLE ESSENCES, or Courteous Revelations, by Osbert Sitwell. *Macmillan.* 21*s.*

At the end of his recital a fine pianist may play rondos, bagatelles or what he chooses ; he will perform with confidence and delight his audience. So, even if Sir Osbert Sitwell, in his final volume of *Left Hand, Right Hand*, were playing encores to a packed house, there could be no real complaint. But for all its air of courteous relaxation the matter goes deeper. These portraits of remembered personalities—all of them helping to colour an era, all dominantly concerned with art—are not irrelevant to the general shape of the autobiography. To begin with, they round off the departure to balance the approach. Remember that in Volume I, Sir Osbert took almost as long as Tristram Shandy to arrive at his birth (though less long in the process of it), appearing there only with Book Two in a chapter significantly headed " Rags and Bones ". These rags and bones, becoming as it were a family and world motto, are matched in the figures of the tapestry by the present shreds and patches. Patches there are, for the narrator goes back repeatedly to the woven texture, and adds blobs or strands of colour to reinforce it. There is even one pre-natal patch in gold-leaf, when his sister, aged four and moon-faced, prophesies to a consternated family her career as " genius ". On this occasion his father is to be seen (who told Sir Osbert ?) exerting surreptitious care for the Chippendale furniture.

That is almost the last glimpse of Sir George in the fifth volume ; but Sir Osbert is, after all, never absent. He has merely scattered himself in time and space about the affairs and characters of his sitters. Not only is he there, encouraging or provoking certain situations, moulding the episodes he now relates, but he allows no colourless objectivity to dull his portraits. As the sun may be photographed in sodium light, displaying not a false but an unusual surface, so these are done in Sitwell light and are not quite what the impersonal eye would see. Sodium is alkaline, and the portraiture rarely suffers from acidity. Sir Edmund Gosse is perhaps in for the least kindly treatment ; the Sitwell light glares keenly here and shows up a degree of *miching mallecho*. Even so, it is harmless mischief. In other canvases the light is glowing with affection and the recognition, always, of a fellow-artist. There is a masterly portrayal of Walter Sickert ; a beautiful, delicate study of Rex Whistler, verbal equivalent of his own designs. Arnold Bennett is rescued from the vandals who have lately been throwing stones at his pottery pedestal. The poets Wilfred Owen and W. H. Davies form a bardic contrast ; and, outside the intimate procession, some balanced reflections on D'Annunzio's Fiume venture counteract recent judgments of him as a hollow man.

In presenting Violet Gordon Woodhouse—a musician whose element was " all fire "—Sir Osbert refers to " many incidents . . . some of them enchanting, others absurd." That feature applies throughout, especially to the fantasy-figure of Ronald Firbank and to Ada Leverson in her contacts with Oscar Wilde. The book is packed,

erhaps overpacked, with these necdotes, irresistible as they are at a rst reading. Yet the reversion to the eep and serious comes ever again like cadence in music. For, unlike the nall-talent artist with his sporadic ke-off and return to earth, Sir Osbert ems to rise to a natural high level, ter touching down to unload his allast of incident.

This poetic habitation explains, one spects, the early philistine antagonism three who moved naturally in a fferent system of co-ordinates. You on't, by school or nursery standards, eclare yourself a genius : it is too far moved from the petty and personal to e readily grasped as the antithesis to lf-conceit. If *Noble Essences* proves e most widely popular movement of r Osbert's quintet it will be for its necdotal portraiture. But in the olophon he spreads his wings to look ound continents and people like some iltonic spirit wheeling between eaven, Eden and the causeway of haos. His mind becomes a mirror the crowded essences both dark and illiant. There is not the slightest gn that after this multiple perform-ce he has said his say or that the pace slackening. Far from it, he is anning a further enterprise. The wer and the fertility are there.

SYLVA NORMAN.

WARD COMPANION AND OTHER POEMS, by Walter de la Mare. *Faber.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

Walter de la Mare's new collection, ough it contains some early work, kes it clear that, after nearly 50 years writing, he is not yet prepared to rest his successes, even though these have eady gained him a permanent place English lyric poetry. Instead, he ves behind, for the most part, the hades of Arabia ", the moonlight the candlelight, and writes with ctness and economy. It has often med to me that some of his most nderful excursions into pure poetry e been made in his simplest rhymes. In :

> Do diddle di do,
> Poor Jim Jay
> Got stuck fast
> In Yesterday ;

or in :

> Three jolly gentlemen,
> In coats of red,
> Rode their horses
> Up to bed.

These poems have the eena-meena-mina-magical quality of nursery rhymes, and carols, and of the lyrics of Blake and Herrick, and that quality is achieved by the simplest possible words, by words out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, as you might say. In this latest volume, Mr. de la Mare uses language of the same simplicity, the same almost terseness, in poems of mature wisdom. Sometimes they have an a epigrammatic click which he may have learned from Mr. Andrew Young :

> That crafty cat, a buff-black Siamese
> Sniffing through wild wood, sagely, silently goes,
> Prick ears, lank legs, alertly twitching nose,
> And on her secret errand reads with ease
> A language no man knows.

In those lines there is scarcely a word spared for the landscape through which the cat moves, yet we cannot but be aware of it—a bare, wintry landscape like that which has always lain behind Mr. de la Mare's poetry :

> The robin whistles again. Day's arches narrow.
> Tender and quiet skies lighten the withering flowers.
> The dark of winter must come . . .

The dots are his own, and it is impossible not to feel that the strange, grey, winter world which has haunted his imagination for so long, is now taking on a new significance for him. It has not lost any of its mystery, but it has become more trustworthy, it has come closer. Yeats in his later years raged at his infirmities, but Mr. de la Mare, speaking with a not dissimilar dignity, has learned not to be " aggrieved by such simplicities as age, as ordure, and as size." He has looked at life with equal wonder from both ends of its road, and if the question which the

Traveller asked of the Listeners is still unanswered, he knows that one day he will get that answer :

> Now that thy friends are gone,
> And the spent candles, one by one,
> Thin out their smoke upon the darkening air . . .
>
> Still must thy threshold wait a laggard guest
> Who comes, alone, by night.

There is much which all men, all poets in particular, can learn from that calmness, that honesty. And from that art. Of this latter, perhaps, it is easiest to quote what he himself has written of Henry Vaughan :

> His flowers, waters, children, birds
> Lovely as their own archetypes are shown ;
> Nothing is here uncommon, things or words,
> Yet every one's his own.

NORMAN NICHOLSON.

IN MY VIEW, by Eric Newton. *Longmans.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Newton's book consists of more than a hundred articles selected from his contributions to the press over the last twelve years. Nearly all are commentaries on art exhibitions or reviews of books. If, in the interval between their first publication and their present appearance, they have lost some of their topical impact, the loss is a very slight one. Not one of them is any less readable than it was. For Mr. Newton's criticisms do not take the form of detailed analyses of individual works. Severely restricted space in shrunken newspapers would discourage such minute treatment. His approach is by way of a sensitive, almost intuitive assessment of tendencies ; his criticisms are often in the form of reflective and highly enlightened discourses on certain aspects of painting, suggested to him by the general character of the exhibition he is reviewing.

A book which contains so many separate accounts of so many past events is likely to be a mere assembly of disconnected fragments. However, what holds these pieces together, like a stout and unifying thread, is Mr. Newton's clear-cut and consistent idea of his function as critic. In his introduction, he makes a brief declaration of his main purpose which is, simply, to interpret the artist to the public. " No more than that," he says.

The nature of contemporary painting and the bewilderment that it has engendered in people's minds emphasize the value and need of lucid and sympathetic interpretation. Many who visit exhibitions of modern pictures are perplexed in their search for a generally applicable standard on which to found their opinions. Paintings are no longer good or bad in so far as they are accurate or faulty representations of something the artist has seen. Many artists make little or no concession to natural appearances. " Once the ' literary ' or descriptive element has ceased to be a major factor in painting," Mr. Newton writes, " the critic is left with a set of imponderables . . . He can only express his experience of art by analogy and metaphor." The artist has turned from a literal to a figurative approach and has evolved his own highly idiomatic and essentially personal formulae.

The critic, therefore, is faced with the endlessly subtle problems of trying to tell in words what the artist has tried to express in paint. Mr. Newton excels in the statement of these elusive qualities. His quick discernment allows him to perceive them, and his capacity for making parallel images in words allows him to define them, with no damage to their delicacy or significance. This is interpretation at its very best ; both artist and public benefit from it.

The subject matter of the articles extends, however, over a vast field of criticism ; it is, by no means, limited to contemporary works of art. In the list of contents, there are such diverse titles as " Old Masters at the National Gallery ", " ' Child Art '—Art or Myth " and " Recent Lithographs of Picasso ". The book is adequately indexed and decoratively wrapped in a jacket of Mr. Newton's own designing.

F. W. WENTWORTH-SHEILDS.

THE SCARLET SWORD, by H. E. Bates. *Michael Joseph.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

MICHAEL THE FINN, by Mika Waltari. Translated by Naomi Walford. *Putnam.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

DEAREST PRISCILLA, by Emily Bradley. *Max Parrish.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Readers of Mr. Bates's Burmese novels will know something of what to expect from *The Scarlet Sword.* The scene on this occasion is a Catholic Mission in Kashmir, but the intention and the style are much the same. The Mission, overrun by savage Pathans and Afridis, houses a motley collection of Indians and whites : among them a former Colonel of Intelligence, a tubby, agitated priest, and a Scots nurse named McAlister who is, it goes without saying, obscurely frustrated. There is also a young English girl, Julie Maxted, and a war-correspondent called Crane. As soon as the shooting begins these two embark, with a kind of beleagured passion, on a tense, tacit love affair of a now familiar type. Not only they but others, notably Father Simpson, suffer a sea-change of personality in the course of the calamities that befall them. An unsuspected toughness reveals itself in the priest, to which the journalist comes to pay instinctive tribute. Where at first there had been a clash of temperament, there is finally understanding.

It is a measure of the author's talent that he is able to extract so much from a contrivance that has surely served its turn. Violence is made to act as a catalyst of character, redeeming and transfiguring its victims. It is done in parts effectively, in other parts less well, but it has all been done many times before. One wearies of the peripatetic hero, less stoic than Mr. Hemingway's, but formed in the same self-sufficient mould. Mr. Bates writes, indeed, in his novel very like an English disciple of the author of *A Farewell To Arms.* There is the same pre-occupation with agonized flesh-and-blood, from which nothing really fundamental emerges. What is new here is a serious attempt to enter the mind of a character antipathetic to the writer himself, if one may judge from the general direction of his work. Yet even in this one detects a hint of patronage, of the idea that all priests are by nature faintly ludicrous and that only ex-Service novelists know what life is really like.

Michael The Finn is a long, circumstantial account of the adventures of a young man in Reformation Europe. Like most other historical novels of the same class, it achieves a factitious interest by an appeal to the irony of events. There are heretics, love-philtres, intrigues of State, and a great many allusions to the worldliness of the Church. Aside from all this, however, the book's merit as a plain tale falls short of supporting its length.

The Colonial Wife has figured in fiction as a pampered, peevish creature, bedevilling the relations between East and West, between black and white. One had always supposed, nevertheless, that there was another side to the question than that supplied by itinerant writers in search of a theme. Mrs. Bradley gives it here with commonsense and charity out of a lifetime's experience of her subject. *Dearest Priscilla* is not fiction, but it reads more entertainingly than many books that are. It purports to be addressed to the daughter of a friend lately married to a Colonial Service officer. " Servants In Theory ", " Servants In Practice ", " Living On Your Pay "—these are some of the domestic topics it explores. Mrs. Bradley disclaims any assumption of wisdom on the larger, more public issues involved, but her comments here are equally perceptive. She deplores in particular the tendency of the time to obscure the personal aspect of administration. " It is people ", she insists, " that are wanted. Honest ones and selfless ones and wise ones and courageous ones with knowledge and high principle and endless goodwill." A platitude, no doubt, but not one that can be too much restated. *Dearest Priscilla* should be read as a guide to a world in which nothing is quite as simple as it seems. JOHN EALES.

BOOKS ON THE TABLE

The New Year resolution to restrain enthusiasm for one subject from usurping the claims of another, so that in future no book in these three pages' space shall be either stretched or squashed, already falters before the competing allurements of the January table.

Master of all trades

For example, a volume which has given so much delight as THE LETTERS OF WILLIAM MORRIS TO HIS FAMILY AND FRIENDS (*Longmans.* 25*s.*) cries shame that it should be allotted no more than 15 lines. His gifts as poet, essayist, designer and printer, his Socialism—partly incited by some Mill articles in THE FORTNIGHTLY—his passion for architecture, and Iceland, make him so much more to this generation than the " poetic upholsterer " of his own. Fostered by single-mindedness, business capacity and tremendous vitality, he was no amateur in any of his activities ; he indeed, in Oscar Wilde's tribute, " brought fair flowers to make an earthly paradise." Morris's many-sided personality, with its humour, its testiness, its inexhaustible charm, shines out of these letters, which Philip Henderson has now edited and launched with an Introduction that ranks in sympathetic percipience, and therefore importance, with the ' Life ' of Mackail.

Mill and the student

And equally happily, Morris's fellow contributor to this Review, John Stuart Mill himself, comes next. The book is called MILL ON BENTHAM AND COLERIDGE (*Chatto & Windus.* 7*s.* 6*d.*) and F. R. Leavis writes an Introduction to the two essays, which are reproduced in full, to deplore that these " classical " works are not included in courses of reading recommended to " candidates for the English Tripos."

To one without a university English background who has also been much influenced by Mill, his indispensability in a liberal education is axiomatic, and Dr. Leavis, in making available these studies of men regarded by Mill as " the two great seminal minds of England in their age ", should be opening windows for the dispersal of some fuggy thought.

" Lady fictionists "

No liberalism interfered with the attitude of OUIDA (*Jarrolds.* 16*s.*) towards bipeds in general and her long-suffering friends in particular. Yet, in her way she too was a great Victorian—larger than life but always grander, so that even as a successful novelist she could be magnificently a failure. ' No niggling ' seems to have been her motto, either in the drawing of her characters, or in the choice of houses as her setting, or of Worth gowns, or in the multiplicity of animals about her, or in her histrionic insolence to creditors, underlings, or even her darling aristocrats. Eileen Bigland tells her story so effectively, despite some over-emphasis, that the captivated reader is left yearning to find excuses for that unbearable prima donna temperament. Ouida said of THE FORTNIGHTLY, for which she often wrote, that it was " a pasture-land for professors and prigs "—and one prefers to interpret this as a compliment. Then she described Florence in such a way as to bring tears to the infatuated eyes which saw the view from Fiesole for the first time last year, and for this alone much is forgiven her.——Another sample of Ouida, this time on the just as infatuating Rome, together with extracts from *Under Two Flags*, appears in QUEENS OF THE CIRCULATING LIBRARY (*Evans.* 12*s.* 6*d.*). Alan Walbank judiciously edits and introduces Miss Yonge,

Mrs. Wood, Mrs. Oliphant, Miss Braddon, "Ouida", Miss Broughton, "The Duchess" ("Pseudonym apart, Margaret Wolfe Hamilton had no pretensions to rank."), Mrs. Humphry Ward and Miss Corelli. In spite of the sometimes comic handling of Sin (especially), Love, Death and Motherhood in spates of girlish gush, a feeling of respect emerges as a result of reading this engrossing book. These novelists did know how to tell a story—which surely is a prime tool of the trade—and a generation that enjoyed their products, and most of them were writing up to 1900, will enjoy too this excursion from a drab world back to one that was neatly divided into brighter sunshine and more tragic tears.

Flaubert and Mr. Bates

A story-teller of genius has been fortunate in his translator, Mervyn Savill, in the THREE TALES (*Barker*. 6*s*.). Gustave Flaubert's claim to mastery in the *conte* form is substantiated by "A Simple Heart", "The Legend of St. Julian the Hospitaller" and "Herodias", read between bed and breakfast with all the emotions that run the gamut from Félicité the serving woman to the dancing Salome.——A latter-day Flaubert pays tribute to a ghostlike critical figure whose "fair and warlike form" has tantalizingly haunted the works of twentieth century writers from Conrad to D. H. Lawrence. H. E. Bates's little book EDWARD GARNETT (*Parrish*. 6*s*.) succeeds in satisfying the curiosity aroused by former peeps at an eccentric, wise, ironic and good man. The author's contacts with Garnett the publisher's reader who discovered his potentialities must of course have due place, but the more Mr. Bates succeeds in depicting the attractions of Garnett, the less attractive does his own personality become. He is tiresomely careful to use every opportunity to wail about present discomforts, thus obtruding his self-admitted "difficult" temperament—as well as the cold-eyed photograph of H. E. Bates, aged about twenty, at the beginning of his literary career." So the book is recommended with the proviso that when it goes sour it is no fault of Edward Garnett's.

Confessions

Whose was the engaging pen that wrote THE DIARY OF SYLAS NEVILLE 1767-1788 (*Oxford University Press*. 21*s*.) ? The cultured Whig fond of the theatre, the Norfolk squire, the graduate in medicine with distinction at Edinburgh University, all displayed the elegant ease either about town or in rural scenes which might well have betokened the hinted-at noble birth. Basil Cozens-Hardy, the editor, writes a scholarly Introduction to prepare the way for the frank and unself-conscious recordings which, even when they dismay by such sayings as : "Bruges . . . has nothing particular to engage the attention" or by the impression that there was nothing worth recording about Paris, give an enviable picture of one kind of life in the eighteenth century.——A collection of twentieth century notables have each been engaged on the beguiling task of what would happen IF I HAD MY TIME AGAIN (*Odhams*. 10*s*. 6*d*.). Some are evasive, some would not ask for change; Dr. C. E. M. Joad among other things would like to be loved ; Lord Gorell would repeat, in other situations, the thrill of 40 years ago of "that ecstatic standing outside the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence . . . where Savonarola was burnt" ; Dr. Maude Royden would "do less and do it better" ; Mr. Claud Mullins says with Browning :

> What I aspired to be
> And was not comforts me,

and Mr. J. Middleton Murry would remedy some defects, particularly "the amount of time I spend in forlornly looking for things," by learning to be tidy. The Editor, Sir James Marchant, has built the 20 contributions and the Introduction by Lord Horder into a kind of temple of wisdom where the stool of repentance is also an eloquent pulpit.

Match me these marvels

If a general reader might interpose her own recipes for the second chance, one of them is that I could have been with Howard Carter in 1922 when his candle first shone into Tutankhamen's tomb. In THE LOST PHAROAHS (*Evans.* 15*s.*) Leonard Cottrell tells that story of the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, which never fails of enchantment. Radio listeners will remember his productions on the life of the Pharoah Akhnaten, the Tomb Robbers of Thebes, and the Tomb of Tutankhamen itself (during which door-knocker and telephone remained rudely unanswered) and be glad to have recalled in print and many pictures those stirring moments of a generation ago, when ancient Egypt yielded up her wonders.——And now for the history of the children's wonder in MR. PUNCH (*Evans.* 10*s.* 6*d.*) whose biographer, Philip John Stead, traces his origin in Italy as Pulcinella, his travels in France as Polichinelle, and his arrival in England where he became an eminent Victorian. Puppet addicts will welcome this book for its light-hearted information on the subject from Venice, Naples, Paris and the Tottenham Court Road. Punch, said Sir Max Beerbohm, has "the frank, glad smile of a great sinner, well-knowing himself to be also a great force for good." Mr. Stead thinks that if the educationists get hold of him and put him through the hoop of " their well-meant and damnable activities " he is still sturdy enough to survive even that pernicious anaemia.

Good cheer

Cinderella, too, will survive Sir Osbert Sitwell's bringing her story up to date in the tenth anniversary issue of THE SATURDAY BOOK (*Hutchinson.* 21*s.*); this is the only boring piece in the book. For the rest, it is a worthy celebrator of a special occasion. There is much gay colour and illustration, on thick shiny paper which would indicate the gift book even without the blank space under the word ' To ' inside the cover. John Arlott's list of unpleasant place-names caused immoderate laughs (and he says over the 'phone he didn't include the unpleasantest), and the pictures of Laurence Whistler's engravings on glass, collected by John Hadfield, arouse the demon of jealousy. The sonnets of the Rossettis, Keats, Shelley, Hartley Coleridge, and the others, include a tender sigh for Charles and Mary Lamb by a favourite American, Christopher Morley; and Dilys Powell will set many would-be week-enders searching for Mr. Balding's farm.

Souvenirs

Two more books which are sure to please the supposedly phlegmatic Anglo-Saxons, and will appear in the return baggage of overseas visitors to the Festival of Britain, are THE ROYAL FAMILY and PRINCESS ELIZABETH (*Odhams.* 8*s.* 6*d.* each). They are published on behalf of King George's Jubilee Trust, inaugurated in 1935 " to advance the physical, mental and spiritual welfare of the younger generation." The author of both, Dermot Morrah, will not be surprised if the text is at first neglected in favour of the many beautiful photographs of royalty in all poses, performing services at a great variety of functions in Britain and the Commonwealth countries, or informally at home from private collections. None of them has any sign of grudging *noblesse oblige* ; in fact, so far from kingly heads lying heavily these pictures make it obvious that their burden is a happy one.

GRACE BANYARD

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